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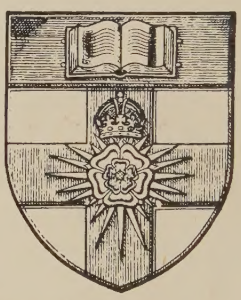

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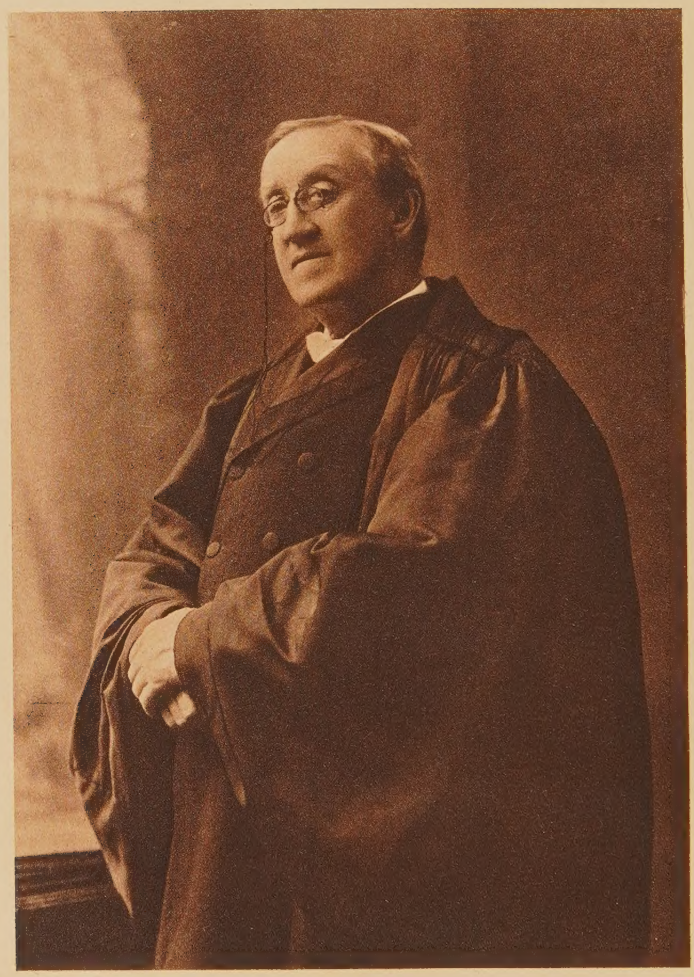

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October, 1925 — September, 1926.

Deaths.

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1872, Charles William Eliot . . . . . Aug. 22, 1926.
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1904, Sir Sidney Lee . . . . . March 3, 1926.
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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

OCTOBER MEETING, 1925

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, October 8, 1925, at 3 P.M., President MOORE in the chair.

The record of the June meeting was read and accepted.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that a letter had been received from Dr. Henry Lefavour, of Boston, accepting resident membership in the Society.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Dr. Charles W. Townsend, of Ipswich, Mass., papers, 1720–1892, of Rev. Isaac and Rev. William Smith, and Townsend family papers.

From Miss Ellen A. Robbins Stone, of Lexington, manuscripts relating to the Rev. and Mrs. Charles Follen, and a collection of old children's books.

From Mrs. Archibald Hopkins, of Washington, D.C., Edward Everett family papers, 1833–1844.

From Dr. William Y. Fox, of Mattapoisett, Mass., papers of the Henry Hodges and Fox families, of Taunton, Mass., 1736 to 1861.

From Mrs. John Winthrop Spooner, of Hingham, family papers of John and William Spooner, 1729–1827.

From Goodwin Palmer, the log-book of the snow *Polly* from Boston to the Northwest Coast and the Indian Ocean, 1800 to 1802.

From Miss Susie Z. Preble, commonplace books of her father, Rear-Admiral George Henry Preble, with pencil and colored sketches by him, 1836–1838.

From Miss J. McChord Shaw, papers of the late Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw, 1818–1859.

From Mrs. Cortlandt T. Hill, of Wellesley, papers relating to the estate of Edmund Longley, of Boston, 1828–1834.

From Miss Mary Otis Porter, papers of James Savage, and James Savage, Jr., 1810–1847.

From Dr. Frederick C. Shattuck, Shattuck family papers, 1828–1842.

From Charles S. Rackemann, by deposit, day-books of Theodore Sedgwick, 1768 to 1813; a ledger of Peter De Lamatter, 1770–1773, and a day-book of Henry Dwight Sedgwick, 1808–1820.

From Charles W. Gray, of Portsmouth, N. H., by deposit, papers of Hector McNeill, 1773–1787.

By purchase, papers of George S. Boutwell, 1853–1905; and twelve volumes of the official papers of Rear-Admiral George Henry Preble, 1829 to 1878.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From Nathaniel T. Kidder and C. A. Kidder, 288 coins, gold, silver, bronze, and others.

From Miss Sarah Williams, of Yonkers, N. Y., a photograph of the monumental tablet erected in memory of Gen. John Thomas in the Military Cemetery, Fort Chambly, Province of Quebec, Canada.

From Miss Mary Otis Porter, Franklin medals and seals, belonging to the late James Savage.

From Fielding Schofield, of Arlington, a large collection of coins and medals, and paper money, including medals awarded to him for excellence in penmanship, with many examples of his work.

From T. Julien Silsby, a bronze Evacuation of Boston medal, inscribed as presented to him; a Stone-Mountain half-dollar, a Grant half-dollar, and a Lee half-dollar.

From the City of Boston, the bronze medal struck by the City to commemorate the Battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1925.

From Walter Gilman Page, the guest badge worn at the 150th Anniversary Celebration, July 3, 1925, of Washington taking command of the American Army, Cambridge; and photograph of the portrait of Sir Harry Vane, recently placed in the State House.

From the Town of Mansfield, the bronze badge worn at the 150th Anniversary Celebration of the Town, August, 1925.

From Miss Ellen A. Robbins Stone, miniatures of Deacon Stillman Lothrop (1780–1853), of the Baptist Church, Charles Street, Boston, and of his wife, Elizabeth Berry Lothrop (1780–1849), also of their son, Stillman Luther Lothrop (1811–1859), and the arms of the Lothrop family.

From William McKissock, in memory of Capt. Charles Hunt, a framed colored lithograph chart of the private signals of the Merchants of Boston, by John T. Smith.

From George B. Brayton, photographs of the old Boylston Market, of Hannah, wife of Charles Bulfinch, and of Susan Apthorp, by Blackburn.

From Franklin P. Daly, of the Industrial Aid Society, an early photograph of the late Rev. Edward Everett Hale.

From Grenville H. Norcross, four lithographic title pages of sheets of music; the Pulaski Guards on Dorchester Heights, 1839; the New England Guards on Savin Hill, 1823; Nahant, 1836; Somerville Light Infantry, Prospect Hill, 1862.

From Mrs. George Lane, of Winthrop, a Confederate bond of $1000, North Carolina, 1863, and some Confederate and Continental money.

From Miss Harriet Lincoln, of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, by deposit, the gold bull's eye watch, made by Joseph Hendon, London, also seals and snuff box, belonging to General Benjamin Lincoln.

Francis Tiffany Bowles, of Barnstable, was elected a Resident Member and Arthur Lyon Cross, of Ann Arbor, Michigan, a Corresponding Member of the Society.

Mr. Ford read a paper on

A Seventeenth Century Letter of Marque.

The by-products of historical investigation can only be used in part, because to develop even a few would occupy too much time and attention. What follows came of a sentence in a letter of John Winthrop, Jr., when on his voyage to the East. Writing from Leghorn, July 14, 1628, he speaks of intelligence from Marseilles that the Duke de Guise had gone out to meet "Sir Chillam Digby, who hath taken three or four frenchmen, hath beene at Algiers, and redeemed some twenty or thirty Christian Slaves, hath manned his prizes, and is gone againe towards the bottom." [1]

Of Kenelm Digby a volume could be written, for he was a man of many interests. He has himself not been reticent on his own life, his powder of sympathy, his scientific speculations, his credulity and his conceptions on questions of body and soul. He may be taken as a good example of the adventurous spirits who followed the glorious days of Drake,

[1] *Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, I. 264.

Hawkins and Ralegh, and found it difficult to play their natural rôles so as to escape the whims of monarchs and a growing tendency to observe certain rules of intercourse among nations.

Kenelm Digby's father, Sir Everard Digby, had been drawn into the Gunpowder Plot, more from religious zeal than from a sense of oppression or persecution. He and his wife had been converts and in their ardor resented the neglect or, as they believed, the abandonment of the Roman Catholics by James I. He paid the penalty in life, estates and dishonor, and his second son, Kenelm, three years old when his father was executed, was brought up by his mother to be a Catholic. He accompanied his kinsman, Sir John Digby, to Madrid in August, 1617, and young as he was, probably had knowledge of the proposed joint English and Spanish expedition against the Algerian pirates. Returning to England in the spring of 1618 he entered Oxford, but did not take a degree, a romantic attachment intervening, opposed by the parents on both sides. Venetia Stanley would afford a name of a heroine to a novel and this Venetia lived the life of such a heroine and not wholly to her credit. Her frailty was as well known as her beauty. Digby boasted that she had come of ancestors who had exalted and pulled down kings in England; but Venetia practiced on the principle that the arms of women have been as potent in making and unmaking kings as the arms of men. Digby went to the continent and picked up new experiences, in which, according to his own account, he figures somewhat too largely and creditably to be convincing. Two years at Florence and a second visit to Madrid while Prince Charles and Buckingham were on their futile mission to obtain the Spanish marriage, gave Kenelm a knowledge of Italian and Spanish relations of service to him later. More to his advancement he was admitted to the Prince's household, and October 23, 1623, was knighted by King James I at Hinchinbrooke. Because of his relationship to Sir John Digby, now Earl of Bristol, he was at enmity with the Duke of Buckingham and could expect no further honors during the life of that royal favorite.

It was Bristol, who, in 1627, advised Sir Kenelm to perform some "generous action," and the adjective in the sense in-

tended savors of Spanish use.[2] Buckingham was out of the kingdom, engaged on his ill considered and worse executed expedition to the Isle of Rhé. It was asserted that Digby's first intentions were to go to Guinea, take some islands and found colonies; but the merchants of the East India Company objected, believing their interests would be ruined by the opening of hostilities there. Having sold a good part of his property to outfit two ships, Digby approached the King direct and was promised a commission under the great seal. There can be little doubt of the kind of adventure he entertained. He had an example in the commission which had been given to the Earl of Warwick, March 18, 1627: "authorizing him to undertake a voyage tending to the service of the King and realm, and the increase of the Earl's own experience and benefit by his honourable endeavour for recovery of his former losses."[3] So many different objects, royal, national and personal, could hardly be reduced to a harmonious whole. Queen Elizabeth had made a like grant to George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, a gallant naval commander and needy nobleman, who sought money rather than fame, and in six ventures he succeeded so indifferently that he died poor — like many a gentleman buccaneer whose actions outwardly carried public authority, though in them the interests of state might play an insignificant part.

Sir Kenelm wished such a commission and the King, always thoughtlessly generous to his favorites, graciously yielded so far as to promise him one, as ample as anything of the kind which "any gentleman of his quality" had previously had. With this in view a bill was drawn by Sir John Coke, Secretary of State, and reached Edward Nicholas, Secretary to the Duke of Buckingham, who took exceptions to the terms as derogatory to the Duke's office of Lord Admiral. No such commission, he asserted, had ever been given to a private person. The Duke had not liked the power given to the Earl of Warwick and would "take it as great

[2] Appropriate or natural to one of noble birth or spirit, a meaning familiar in Shakespeare's day but now obsolete.

[3] April 16 the King directed Attorney General Health to enlarge the commission so as to authorize the Earl "to invade and possess any of the dominions of the King of Spain, or the Archduchess, in Europe, Africa or America."

remissness in those he trusts" should he learn of that conferred on Sir Kenelm. He appealed to Sir Henry Marten, one of the imposing judicial officers of the day, being Judge of the Admiralty, Dean of the Arches and Judge of the Prerogative Court. Marten's opinion is not on record but probably favored Nicholas, for on November 7 a second commission was signed, omitting a grant of martial law and authorizing Digby to "make a voyage to sea and to take prizes from Spain, the Archduchess, France, or any other prince not in league and amity with England." This apparently did not satisfy Nicholas, who now filed further objections with Secretary Conway and asked that the matter be considered by members of the Council, and that Marten and the Duke's officers be given a hearing. This move accomplished its purpose and a new commission, the third in order, conferred power to take prizes; but the strength of the power was reduced by adding clauses recommended by the Lord Keeper, Sir Thomas Coventry, and others of the Council to whom the King had referred the subject. In its final form the expedition had been deprived of its public character.[4] The King in general phrase described it as a voyage to sea, tending to the service of the realm and the increase of his or Digby's knowledge, and allowing a distribution of shares of prizes according to the proportions of the several adventurers. The combination of prize money and education promised exciting experiences under a capable leader; but the niceties of international relations, not over strictly observed in that day, might suffer. The commission was for one year.

A month later Sir Kenelm was urging haste in perfecting his bonds for performance of his letters of marque. December 13 these letters were issued for the *Eagle* of London, 400 tons, —— Milborne, master, and the *George and Elizabeth* of London, 250 tons, Sir Edward Stradling, master. With those two vessels Sir Kenelm sailed upon his adventure, from Deal, December 22, 1627. He returned, landing at Woolwich, February 2, 1628–29, having been absent from England more than thirteen months. In that time he had done as much as a single individual could to arouse well-grounded hostility at home and abroad.

[4] *Cal. State Papers, Domestic.* 1627–1628, 433.

He sailed for the Mediterranean, where the commercial interests of warring powers invited a privateer of liberal principles and a leader who would take advantage of doubtful rules of the sea. Neither Elizabeth nor James I had issued letters of marque for the Mediterranean, conscious of the difficulties of keeping to a strict line in the ever changing relations of states on its shores. It may be doubted if Charles understood that Digby was to operate in the Mediterranean. Thither he went and in February and March was off Algiers, in April off Sicily and in May near Zante, famous to this day for the currant so essential to English plum pudding at Christmas. Important as it then was, the statement of the Venetian Ambassador at London seems extravagant: "This people consume a greater amount of currants than all the rest of the world, and are so accustomed to this luxury and so fond of it, that men have been said to hang themselves because they had not enough money to buy them on certain popular festivals, when they are customary." That sentence tastes of modern publicity methods — a head-liner, or advertisement.

In June Digby had an engagement which produced consequences far beyond his expectations — the battle of Scanderoon, or Alexandretta, Asiatic Turkey. It was of this affair that young Winthrop heard — the capture of three or four French vessels. As this forms the central subject of the present paper it will be necessary to examine the evidence at hand.

Digby kept a Journal of his voyage [5] and in it is found his first version. On June 10 he was off Cape Cangiere (now the Ras or Cape of Cansir) and in the evening stood in for the shore at a point about four leagues from Scanderoon, where he could not be seen from that place. He had heard that French vessels were there, rich prizes in money and goods. He held a council of his captains and made the exactest preparations for a fight, as he had heard of the presence of Venetian galleasses (huge vessels propelled with oars or sweeps, of thirty or forty guns and carrying crews of six or seven hundred each) and galleons (of 800 tons and carrying the same number of guns as the galleasses.)[6] He sent a boat to

[5] Printed by the Camden Society, 1868.

[6] These figures are taken from Digby, who doubtless did not err in minimizing the force opposed to him.

discover the road and on the morning of the eleventh [7] he sailed in force. He sent a sattia [8] with letters to the Venetian general and the captains of two English vessels in the harbor telling them who he was, contriving that the letters should be delivered even as he came within shot. "The Venetian Generall treated my men ill, and sent me word he would sinke my shippes if I went not immediately out of the roade. He did his best, and shott att my flagge, but after I had endured 8 shotte from him patiently, and saluted him with gonnes, I then fell upon his vessels with all my might. It continued a cruell fight for about 3 houres." Towards night he prepared to board the galleons, "and so meaned to stemme the galleazzes, for I could easily gett the wind of them, having much maimed their oares, and they being so frighted (as it appeared by their working and the issue) that they lost all their advantages. Then the Generall sent to me beseeching peace, and acknowledging his error in a verie abiect manner, having hoissed his yardes atrippe to be gone out of the roade in case I refused it. Att the English Viceconsuls entreatie (who came abord me) I granted it to him, but somewhat upon hard termes, the principall of which was that he should abandon the French to my discretion." But during the fight the French had carried all their goods on shore, one of their vessels had run aground, and on Digby's proposing to fire them, the Vice-Consul represented the heavy duties or penalties that would be imposed on English trade in the east in consequence, and Digby took away only the flags, some small brass pieces and returned the ships to their owners.[9]

Five days later Digby wrote an account of the battle for home consumption; to whom it was addressed is not known. He stated that he was prepared for attack, defence and escape, but did not mention the rather important detail that he entered the harbor at the same time as his letters of warning. In these letters he informed the Venetian and English captains that he had come out with letters of marque, with his Majesty's commission under the great seal of England and

[7] The 21st N. S., or the 18th of the moon of Seval in the year of Mahomet 1037, Turkish calendar.

[8] Settee, a decked vessel, with a long sharp prow, carrying two or three masts with a kind of lateen sails. *Oxford Dictionary.*

[9] Digby's *Journal*, 38.

assured them of such friendship as became him. After the first shots from the enemy the shallop returned and reported the threat of the Venetian leader. Then Digby opened fire. In the fight of three hours some five hundred shots had been fired on either side. Digby lost no man killed but some were wounded; the Venetians told him they had forty-nine killed and a great number wounded. None of the ships engaged appear to have been put out of commission. Gun-fire seems to have been poor on both sides. The worst damage was incidental and not intended. The English Vice consul told Digby that " the report of our guns had, during all the time of the fight, shaken the drinking glasses that stood upon shelves in his house, and split the paper windows all about, and spoiled and cracked all the eggs that his pigeons were then sitting upon, which loss he lamented exceedingly, for they were of that kind which commonly is called carriers, and serve them daily in their commerce between that place and Aleppo." [10]

Only three years later (1631) did Gustavus Adolphus demonstrate the advantage of light artillery on the battlefield, and while the Turks could boast of guns which threw a 600 lb. stone shot with an accuracy that rested wholly on chance, the war ship had lighter guns which recoiled along the vessel's deck and threatened harm to friend rather than to foe. Captain John Smith tells us that a gun larger than a demi-cannon was seldom to be found on a ship. Such a gun weighed 6000 pounds and threw a shot of thirty-two pounds. The range was not large and accidents occurred in piece, shot and powder. While they had advanced beyond the point when the damage made by one shot could be repaired before the gun was again fired, yet the effect of a shot was largely haphazard.

On the Venetian side there comes first the combined report of Antonio Capello, captain of the galeasses, and Giovanni Paolo Gradenigo, captain of the galleons, written two days after the engagement. Digby, to glorify his success, speaks of Capello as the " commander of most fame and reputation for valour among the Venetians and these were their best vessels by much." The Venetians were taken by surprise.

[10] Digby, *Treatise of Bodies*, 316.

That the approaching ships were not merchantmen their manner of waiting for one another and keeping in squadron showed. Rumors had come of five Barbary ships under a pirate leader, Calil, intending to attack the Venetian vessels. In doubt Capello waited and watched.

> Finally, when they had come near enough to be observed, they confirmed our opinion by flying their battle flags, putting red cloth over the sides and beating the drum. . . . I recognized the English colours but did not trust this; as they gave no signs of friendship, and because this coast has previously been raided by pirates under the same flag, used deceitfully, according to their habits, with notable hurt to all nations.

Shots were exchanged as warning on the part of the Venetians and as an expression of determination on the part of the English. Digby's letter reached the hands of Capello and told that he had been sent by the King of Great Britain, "whom I serve as a gentleman of his Privy Chamber"[11] — a title not used in naval circles — to attack his enemies, comprising the French, found in those parts, and promised that every respect would be shown to the Venetian ships. Capello replied that he could not allow ships in his company to suffer hurt, and he did not believe Digby would do him this wrong and affront, still more to his prince. Plenty of opportunity to attack the French would be found elsewhere and he therefore begged the Englishman "to avoid all occasions from which the gravest accidents might arise."

Of course, Digby did not wait for the reply; he had carefully arranged that. The battle was on. The Venetians admitted a battle of three hours' duration, but state that the English were prevented from achieving their plans of taking the French.

> The English vice-consul then intervened and urged me to terminate the action, promising that their general would leave this port. I therefore gave over, seeing that they also had ceased firing and had called back the tartana[12] and caiques,[13] which had pushed

[11] Collins's *Peerage of England* (ed. 1812), v. 355, states the exact words to have been "a secretiori Conclavi ad Carolum I. et in Rebus Maritimis Administrator praecipuus."

[12] A small one-masted vessel with a large lateen sail and a foresail.

[13] A light boat or skiff propelled by one or more rowers.

on in the interval and boarded the French ships, already abandoned by their defenders, and carried off what they could in such a short time, of the things the owners had left behind, which were of slight value.

The English confessed to Capello to have had eighteen killed and wounded; the Venetians reported one killed and two wounded.[14] The statements as to losses, though so carefully vouched for, cannot be reconciled. The miserable historian can only surmise that both sides lost somewhat, for of a thousand cannon shot a few must have hit somebody, or something, even by accident.

After the conflict the pen took the place of the sword and from the Venetian archives the letters in full may be obtained. Replying to Capello's note, which it must be remembered was written during the firing and received after the battle, Digby assured him that:

> Even if I risk sinking here I shall not fail to carry out the commands of my King and master. Be perfectly clear that even if your lordship had twice as many ships as you have, I shall not neglect my duty. There will be a time for discussing your behaviour towards me before superior judges, and I do not doubt that your lordship will realise that you have no right to behave in a hostile manner towards me. I therefore impute it to your gallantry that you desire to prove yourself against the subjects of my king; to whom the title of valour belongs of right, but in such case it will be more noble for you and more useful for our masters if we two try our strength against each other, and so avoid involving innocent persons in our honourable rivalry.

Capello answered regretting what had occurred, but he said he could have taken no other course before the "grave affront" offered to himself and his prince. "I should have taken the same steps to defend his [French] Majesty's ships, now here, because honour requires it, and duty, and in so doing I should have considered I was showing my goodwill in protecting their interests. I know that if you will consider the matter dispassionately, you will, as an honourable man, recognize that I am right." He asks Digby to abandon an

[14] Digby learned in September that above one hundred of the Venetians had been killed. *Journal*, 61.

intention to take the French ships, and hinted that he could do the English harm by "a greater demonstration of the strength of these vessels." Misinterpreting Digby's phrase Capello declines a duel, as his office prevented. He intimates that measures might be taken by the Turks against the English, if hostilities should be continued.

To have the last word Digby denied responsibility for the action; could not believe that the Venetians had received orders to defend the French against the English, as they should remain neutral. If he should carry away the French prizes that could not affect the reputation of the Venetian commander; "but if you try to hinder me I protest that it will amount to a definite breach of the peace between our masters." After that threat Digby became the courtier and gentleman:

> I must clear up a point in the other part of my letter, namely, that I did not desire to meet your lordship, sword in hand, out of any ill feeling. Such passions do not enter generous hearts. It was merely for a contest with your notable valour and ability, that I should have esteemed it highly to have had such an adversary. I should be even more delighted to gain such a friend, and I thought in that way to avoid the effusion of much innocent blood. I end by saying that if you forbid friendly relations between us, you will find me an enemy without rancour or malevolence.

To these relations may be added the testimony of some Mussulmen, eyewitnesses, who reported to the Sultan that 400 shots were fired. "The English were about to burn the French ships when the galeasses fired heavy guns, delivering the French and driving the English out of the port." That runs true to form when a number of observers seek to express their observations briefly and truthfully.

Digby claimed that the Venetians had attacked him without cause and after he had assured them he had no intention of interrupting trade. But he had entered the harbor expecting opposition and prepared to meet it, without respect to its source. Clearly he had the mind of the offender. The English held their ground — "the Venetians quitted to me the signiority of the roade" were Digby's words — so technically they were victors. The spoil was negligible and would

not begin to pay for the necessary repairs to the vessels; but the glory was there — if properly cultivated. Digby believed he had given the galleasses a lesson. "Never since my going away," he wrote in his Journal, "they have had that confidence, either on shore or abord, as they had before."

The Venetians really believed that they had won a naval and a moral victory, and the belief grew stronger as time passed. Four months later Capello was at Alexandria and an English ship, the *Tiger,* when about two miles from the port reefed its sails and sent a boat to ask permission to enter. "I believe that this act of submission and humility is due to a conference held with the general [Digby] of the five English ships, which went to that place to capture the French saettas there, and whom I prevented; so that action has proved fruitful, because now that nation has learned the power of the galleasses by experience and will hold them in more respect for the future." Six months later Gradenigo, Captain of the galleons, wrote:

> I cannot express my regret at being deprived of the means of showing my zeal in the incident of the 21st of June with the English ships. After many villainies to the prejudice of the public reputation their captain, perhaps by the divine will, himself selected the occasion for his own penance and the mortification of his unbridled insolence and boastful presumption.

What followed is shown by the statement of Thomas Potton, English consul at Aleppo, who officially was known as Tomaso, son of Cotto, writing six or seven months after the fight [in the middle of the moon of Rabnilachir, 1038.] He was an official of the Levant Company of merchants and wrote to please his masters, the Company, and to make it easy for them to approach the King. He said the valiant Captain Digby

> had sent to Alexandretta for water, but when he wished to enter the port some Venetian galleys there fired on him, saying he ought to lower his flag. Although he harmed no one yet the Venetian consul at Aleppo, to cover their fault, falsely stated that the English ships had attacked the port and plundered the ships. As you did not know the truth, you [the Turkish Pacha] arrested the

English consul and stopped his merchants from trading. To obtain his release the consul had to pay 50,000 thalers. After this great wrong the Cadi of Bairas, from the testimony of many Musselmans and Christians, gave a cozzetto that the Venetians were the first offenders, and the English did no harm to the Turks. You also found that the Venetians were the culprits, which the Naippo of Aleppo confirmed, and so you ordered the money taken from the consul to be restored.

Altogether it had been a strenuous two days and the Venetians did not see any signs of Digby's leaving and did not think it advisable to forbid his remaining, as they were themselves in strange waters, out of their own ports and jurisdiction. The effort to protect the French ships from capture was an assumption of power. Even the quality of a neutral port had received no definition, and in recent times a privateer cannot claim the same right of access to a neutral port that a national warship enjoys. Five days after the battle Digby sailed away with his fleet, and all the Venetians saluted him, but in response to a salute on his side. "So I think," wrote the Venetian consul at Aleppo, "no ill feeling remains." Charges were made, and probably with truth, that Digby had paid heavy sums to gain the goodwill of the Pasha, while the Aga at Aleppo took the occasion to "further his own interests and glut his insatiable desires." The characterization by the Venetian consul at Aleppo seems near the truth. He believed Digby to be "nothing but a thief and a pirate, who wrongfully uses his Majesty's [the English King's] name."

The Turk has not a high reputation for being easily managed and the Turkish underofficial was as dependable an instrument as a stick of dynamite at large. "There is no law here," wrote the Venetian Vice-Consul at Aleppo, "but the will of the ruler; no reason is listened to unless backed by gold." He had just been harried by an angry Pasha for the Scanderoon affair, six months after the event, and had seen the French and English consuls at Aleppo first ordered to prison, then released on a surety, and the goods of the English sealed in their magazines. Evidently the Pasha thought of punishing some one for Digby's exploit, almost any scapegoat would serve; but no one knew better than the

Vice-Consul that the profits from the trade in the place, largely in English control, would be used to influence the Pasha and secure immunity for past and future acts. By way of Constantinople it was learned that the Pasha had graciously said he would behead any one who should ask for a decree to the harm of the Venetians, and had given as the Turkish view of Scanderoon the following terse statement: "The English had committed three faults, they had violated the Sultan's ports, prejudiced the interests of the Sultana mother, who is mistress of the duties, and tried to injure the merchants who came to the Sultan's state. He knew the Venetians were friendly." There spoke finality, so far as the outward form; but it carried little weight in London — or elsewhere. At the same time it must be admitted the Turks remained quite true to the Venetians barring a few lapses which had their price. Later the Italians complained that the Pasha did not "seem to think so much as he ought of the attempt to violate one of their ports of such consequence."

Some of the consequences of the Scanderoon incident were far reaching. Venice, mistress of the Adriatic, considered that her ships had asserted a right to protect the property of subjects of a friendly power, whilst under the shadow of the republic's banner; in protecting the French vessels the Venetians had "exposed themselves in defence of free trade against those who wished to disturb it, conferring a greater benefit than ever before on the Turk's dominions, his subjects, and their trade, since the English, under the guise of friendship, are going about plundering with powerful armed ships to the detriment of trade." The Turks in a measure acknowledged the obligation, but the power that should have been most grateful — France — showed no enthusiasm or gratitude, not a little to the disgust of the Venetian Senate, avid of praise and commendation.

Had the matter rested here Digby would have won easily. His recall, a suitable explanation or apology to Venice, and a renewal of pledges, would have met and satisfied the wounded honor of the Italians. He for some months continued to haunt the Ionian islands, a sore torment to Venice. He claimed a right to search all vessels, even when under the flag of a friendly power. As well permit a corsair to rule the

sea, said the Senate of Venice. He frequented harbors to refit his ships, to dispose of plunder and to sally from when a vessel was sighted. Mudezzo, the Proveditore of the undefended harbor of Argostoli, Cephalonia, gave a list of English misconduct. "With extraordinary audacity, they have dared to fire on shore, to correspond openly against my will, to enter private houses by force where ladies were, to brawl with the guards, and to excite riots." His success doubtless influenced other English ships to indulge in the same forms of excitement. The attack had become safer, because Digby had inspired the merchantmen with a genuine fear of him. So far was this the case that crews would abandon their ships on the approach of a suspicious stranger and wrecks had occurred in consequence. He had used the methods of the wrecker. At Zante he posted a watcher on a hill whence it was customary to signal ships coming towards the island. Gaining information by this means he would go out and meet them, searching their cargoes and seizing what was French.

The matter now passed into diplomacy and under the best conditions diplomacy at that time worked slowly and not wholly disinterestedly, for the salaries of ambassador and consuls in the Levant were paid by the Levant Company, not by the English government. From Alexandretta and Constantinople, Aleppo and Zante, the news would be colored in one way. A Turkish court of justice was in itself a misnomer, for justice there was a matter of bargain and sale, and time was as great an obstacle — or excuse — as injustice. The Venetian Senate did not receive the despatch of their commanders about Scanderoon until months after the battle, and knew of it only through a partial and in some respects misleading account sent by the captain of their convict galleys, who had not had a share in the fighting. On this imperfect report the Senate of Venice instructed their ambassador in London to make representations, much milder, it later appeared, than the circumstances required. It also made a dignified protest to the English representative at Venice and expressed their great displeasure. Acts of hostility had been committed in Venetian channels and ports without regard to their rights. They tempered their displeasure by adding their

assurance that the misconduct proceeded more from the habitual daring of sailors than from anything else, and wished such behavior might be prevented in the future. The English Ambassador scorned to appear in person to answer and sent his secretary on "so poor an errand." In form he forbade English ships to bring prizes into Venetian ports without express licence; but wrote to his superiors: "If they [the Venetians] dare to tax our nation for anything passed this year I have enough in my hand to justify the English, and to make them ashamed that shall accuse us before any who doth understand what doth belong unto *mare liberum.*"

Three weeks later, June 16, the Venetian Senate prepared a second protest on a broader basis:

> All these events prevent navigation in the sight of our islands, violate the jurisdiction of our ports, entirely destroy trade, damage our subjects and injure the republic with other powers. It is an abuse of the royal patents, and we are certain that his Majesty will be much displeased at such scandalous operations, which we cannot tolerate. The republic has never permitted the molestation of shipping in sight of its islands, much less in its ports and channels, and its commanders at sea have orders to carry out, in the event of such incidents occurring. They can do no less both for the security of shipping and for other considerations.

This was read to the English Ambassador four days later and he took the opportunity to explain a point of English practice. "Our merchant ships," he said, "are converted into ships of war and sail in fleets for their own safety; they have the power to attack and plunder the enemies of the crown. This power is given them by the king in their act of navigation, to serve for the open sea. Such powers are certainly of two kinds; one by letters of marque obliging them to attack ships of enemies of the crown; the other by more reserved patents, with power to search other ships and take the goods of enemies therefrom, even if the ships belong to friends. But neither confers such powers within the ports of any prince soever, except the States who set the example by attacking Spanish ships in our ports, which moved us to do the same in theirs." He was sure the King would call Digby to an account of his actions on his return to England,

for Sir Kenelm was "not really a commander, but only had ordinary letters of marque."

An Ambassador has direct access to the monarch to whom he is accredited, a definite advantage which the United States for more than a century ignored. It so happened that the Venetian Ambassador had an even greater reason for being freely and frankly dealt with. England being at war with France and Spain found the three Venetian ambassadors — Contarini at London, Zorzi in Paris and Corner in Madrid — most dependable instruments of information and for advances of peace. In the event peace was brought about by these able Venetians, and in the meanwhile they were courted and favored so far as English conditions permitted; for royalty there, in asserting its wished-for authority, destroyed its right as well as its power to rule. In his interview with the King about August 7, Contarini asserted generalities: that the chief duties recommended to a sovereign by God and Nature are the defence of his subjects and the freedom of his dominions. Specifically the English ships had infringed the republic's harbor laws, destroyed their trade and committed overt acts of hostility against the Signory's own subjects. The King assured him he had given no such orders or permission to Digby to attack his friends or even enemies in the republic's harbors. By acting otherwise he had rendered himself utterly unworthy of his Majesty's protection. With Secretary Conway the Ambassador was more specific, and he gave an impressive summary of Digby's misdeeds and asked for his recall or punishment.

The protest had, however, raised a question in the minds of some of the King's Council. These said that the Republic of Venice was right about the Republic's ships and subjects within her own ports, but not at sea. The real dispute over the freedom of the seas came some years later, though Grotius had written on the subject and had seen his essay printed surreptitiously and attracting no notice. Selden printed in 1636, arguing on the wrong side. Conway could not give answer to Contarini's protest, because he had no direct information of what Digby had done or was doing, and he wished to learn the Englishman's version. As to the sea, he hoped that some boundaries would be arranged to the satis-

faction of the Republic. In all this the Italian saw only a wish to postpone a determination, but nothing he could do would rush Conway to a decision.

Three months passed before Conway received Digby's account, probably that printed with the treaty between France and those of Rochelle, October 30, 1628. The letter had come by way of Constantinople and reached England late in October. The Ambassador, summoned by Conway, listened to the following smooth relation, with what feelings he has himself described. The Italian language is rich in words of forceful but improper content. Digby said "he went to that port [Scanderoon] for the purpose of taking water and ships. Wishing to send letters to some English ships there, he sent word to that effect to the captain of the galleasses, to avoid giving suspicion of any other evil intention. Instead of civilities, he received shot, so that in self defence he was compelled to give battle. He wished to show that the disasters which befell the English afterwards arose from sheer necessity for defence under provocation." To Contarini Digby was a pirate, who had sold all his property for the sake of robbing. Give greater credit to the statement of such a man than to that of the Venetian Republic? "I grew warm," Contarini modestly wrote, in narrating what had taken place. He

> hoped that instead of complaining, his Majesty would have thanked me, because the Republic's ships, by preventing the Frenchmen from being plundered in the harbours of the Grand Turk, had also prevented a general seizure of all the goods of English subjects in Syria, Constantinople and elsewhere, because even an unsuccessful attempt had led to the imprisonment of the Consul and the expenditure of several thousand piasters. I said if Digby persisted in his insolence and remained in those waters, something unexampled would happen, and I referred to the maxims of Queen Elizabeth, who would never permit privateering in the Mediterranean, out of respect for her friends and of the Turks in particular. By correcting Digby for past offences and recalling him, his Majesty would give satisfaction to his friends and secure his subjects from mischance.

He added to his account of the interview, with a certain satisfaction: "I think I did well."

Official procrastination offers an obstacle difficult to overcome and the Court of Charles I knew it in all its many forms. Did Contarini mention the matter to the King, he received a rebuff and a promise, and neither could satisfy. Conway and the Commissioners of the Admiralty put him off from day to day, and "everyone" at the beginning of December assured the Venetian that Digby was by that time near England, though nothing definite to show it is on record. The merchants trading in the Levant grew uneasy as the reports of Digby's conduct reached them. On November 16 they presented a petition to the Council remonstrating upon the great loss sustained by that trade through the number of ships which cruised in the Mediterranean under pretence of attacking the enemy. The ransom of the English consul at Aleppo, because of Digby, cost the company 50,000 piasters. The Consul was blamed for not having remained a prisoner, to give time for negotiation, instead of being in such a hurry to free himself and so consenting to such a heavy ransom. Coming from such a source the protest carried weight and the Council saw fit to direct that no more patents like those granted to Digby and others should issue. Perhaps, too, personal pressure made itself felt. The Earl of Arundel sought to have the Company recognize his grant from James I on the customs from currants, which had been suspended during his imprisonment in the Tower.

December 2/12, 1628, instructions were sent to Sir Isaac Wake, English Ambassador at Venice, in terms which yielded little to salve the Republic's feelings. On reading it Contarini decided to accept it as it was, and file a statement on the proceedings of Digby at Scanderoon. "God knows when I should have got the revised document," he truthfully wrote. "You can always repeat your case, or you may let the matter drop." The cream of the instructions was that the King ordered Digby to leave the Mediterranean and come home, "so that opportunities for further offenses may be removed." So much at least was gained, but it might be months before these orders could reach Digby. Wake showed diligence and a not unfair idea of Digby's nature, who, he thought, was acting more as a pirate than as a good servant of the King.

It was just at this time that a printed account of the Scanderoon affair appeared — that sent by Digby immediately after the fight. Contarini described it as "boastful and mendacious, to assuage the disgust felt by the merchants here at Digby's impudence and temerity." To Conway he remarked that "such publications, issued merely to conceal defects, are unusual between friendly powers, as they generate hatred instead of love." He would not let it appear that he attached much importance to the narrative. Digby clearly had taken the pen because of lack of right and fair dealing. Conway said he knew nothing about the printed account, but would see it and reprimand the printer for having published it without the consent of the government. "I shall await the result," was the Venetian's note, "and if I can humble this boastful spirit I shall do so gladly" — a task of which he knew little — even nothing, for no one could humble Charles more than he had himself done.

Some punishment did fall upon the printer — the least blamable of all the parties concerned. Contarini even felt that the penalty promised to be greater than the deserts.

> The printer who published the accounts about Digby was put in prison. I wanted to have the copies burned in public, but as the narrative was bound up with articles of the surrender of Rochelle, and other matters, his Majesty raised some objections in burning the articles at the time of the present negotiations [for the French marriage.] As this seemed reasonable, I left everything in his Majesty's hands, and he sent the bookseller to ask my pardon and to bring me the copies. The printer is still in prison, and as the name of your Excellencies has never been introduced, I shall take the liberty to have him released, as he has been sufficiently punished.

At last Digby of his own volition turned homeward. On that return voyage he committed an act which made it necessary for Venice to call for his condign punishment. He captured two ships, sailing under Venetian patents and destined for Venice — the *Giona* or *Jonas* and the *S. Michele Angelo,* later the *Longboat.* Disposing of the *Jonas* he brought the cargoes of both to England and in February was in the Downs. No one knew whether he had become rich or poor

in the year's operations. At the request of Contarini the goods were sequestrated, but he did not know at the time that the ships had been sailing under Venetian patents which gave him a claim to the whole. He was inclined to take a broad view of the matter.

> Owing to the present conflagration in Europe, all those who trade in the Mediterranean, the Spaniards, French, Genoese and others, do so under the name of Venetians or Florentines, as neutrals. I really believe, from what I have seen, that there is much property belonging to those nations in the ships in question, under the name of Venetian subjects. I know that it is expedient to support them as a matter of policy, and for reputation, and I will do so, but I apprehend that if this mystery is discovered, they will not restore even genuine goods of the Signory's subjects. It is whispered to me that if these ships are declared the property of Venetians and not a lawful prize, the merchants of the Levant Company will demand their sequestration as damages for what they paid at Aleppo, when the English consul was imprisoned for the fight with the galleasses.

On learning that the vessels were state vessels he demanded the return of the ships and cargo, taking the position that it was a matter to be settled as prince to prince, not by lawyers and judges. But obstacles arose to granting his demand. The matter was before the Admiralty and by the laws of the realm it was difficult for the King to prevent justice being rendered to those who demanded it. Digby had brought presents "for all the chief lords of the government. For the King, a stone carved in low relief, brought from Greece, which is said to have belonged to the temple at Delphi, with some ancient statues, according to his Majesty's taste. He distributed a variety of delicacies among the ministers, some receiving wine from Crete, and some other things." Besides many members of the Council were concerned with Digby and had a share in the prizes. "They are all famished," Contarini reported, "as there is not one penny in circulation at the Court, so I do not know if my protests will be able to resist these blows of gold and silver." He drew a picture that is interesting. "This nation is incredibly fond of its neighbor's goods. This is proved by their profess-

ing to rob everybody and everywhere. But at these critical times, the natural bent is stimulated by necessity and corrupt practices, which are very great indeed." And again: "It alarms me to see the penury of the courtiers here, the interest that many members of the Council take in Digby as partners in his voyage, the many protectors who support him, the King, who does not dislike him, the sailors enriched under his command, who extol him, and above all the corrupt custom of selling justice to the highest bidder, because no one is paid. I will do all I can, and your Excellencies may rest assured that I toil with my whole soul; but it is three times more difficult than anything else, because of this accursed corruption." He was at a still greater disadvantage, for he would not enter into a law suit with a pirate, or subject himself to the ordinary courts of justice. Prince to prince offered no solution; the King was willing, but the struggle for liberty and property was on, and the King could and did do all wrong.

The matter remained in the courts and was decided by the courts, greatly to the disgust and somewhat to the surprise of the Venetian Ambassador. The statement of Contarini proves his artlessness if not his ignorance:

> I have toiled all the week over the ships. It has never been possible to get the matter settled by the King instead of the ordinary judge. I learn covertly from all the ministers that the king is extremely anxious to gratify the republic, but as his subjects appeal to the statutes of the realm founded on their privileges, in virtue of which they very often dare to oppose his Majesty himself, he could not prevent them, even if he wished. It would seem farcical to speak thus of the subjects of any other state. I consider it a weakness, but so great and so permissible are the quarrels between the King and his people, who censure his slightest act, and to terrify his ministers, that I do not know what to say. In the meantime all the officers of your Serenity, besides the letters of the Grand Duke, the Genoese and the Ragusans have obtained nothing more than could have been done by the captain of the ship alone, or any of his sailors who had come direct to demand justice. This rigour, when it cannot be modified by reasons of state and international friendship may be called injury rather than justice. To my repeated remonstrances the only answer has been that even if the king wished he cannot deny justice to those who ask it.

Threats were made of sequestering English property in Italy, but that would mean war and was wisely set aside. In the end the ship *Giona* was restored to its owners by decree of the court but the goods were divided, Digby getting the larger part. The Ambassador could only inform the Senate of Venice that the decision was unjust but irremediable. It was not so much Digby's influence that had won as the crisis in the King's relations to Parliament and people, which led every act of his to be scrutinized and measured by his observance of law and the newly asserted privileges — rights — of the King's subjects.

What has this story to do with Massachusetts? Digby's admiral or flagship was the *Eagle*,[15] of about four hundred tons burden, with Peter Milborne as captain. After its return to England it was put into the market and sold to Matthew Cradock and his merchant associates in the London Company of the Massachusetts-Bay. Her name was changed from the *Eagle* to the *Lady Arbella*, she became the admiral of the Winthrop fleet, and the Governor went in her, with the same Peter Milborne as captain who had taken her as a privateer from one end of the Mediterranean to the other and had led the attack at Scanderoon. In sketching the year's labors of Digby we are describing the year's history of the *Lady Arbella*. What a contrast in conditions! It is possible that Digby had religious service on his ships — he was a Roman Catholic — but any defect must have been more than made good on the voyage across the Atlantic.[16] Even Winthrop delivered a homily which was probably more intelligible and vital to some of his hearers than it is to us. Through this identification more is now known of the history of the *Lady Arbella* than of any vessel (the *Mayflower* possibly excepted) not plying at regular intervals between England and New England in colonial or provincial times. More than that. Fifty Digbys in the Mediterranean would have had no influence on the history of Europe. They would have been annoying pin pricks, leading to nothing. Espe-

[15] His best ship upon a tack in smooth water. *Journal*, 37. See also account of a chase in a storm, *Ib.*, 73.

[16] Winthrop commended the master — Milborne — for "joining with us in every good action," and especially for keeping a fast appointed for the passengers. *Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, 1. 390.

cially to France, the chief opponent of England, they were negligible. While Sir Kenelm was on his expedition Endecott had gone to Salem. Shortly after Digby's return the Winthrop party sailed — the beginnings of a movement that eventually destroyed the power of France in the North American continent. Hence my interest in Digby and the *Eagle*.

Remarks were made by Mr. Morison, Capt. Thomas G. Frothingham, Dr. Shattuck and Dr. Storer.

MEMOIR

OF

JAMES DE NORMANDIE

By WILLIAM WALLACE FENN

It must have been an impressive occasion when, on the first day of October, eighteen hundred and sixty-two, James De Normandie was ordained pastor of the ancient and honored South Parish of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Among those taking part in the ceremony was an unusual number of clergymen whose fame was in all the churches. The sermon was delivered by Ezra Stiles Gannett, first colleague and then successor of Dr. Channing; the ordaining prayer was offered by Andrew Preston Peabody, who had just left the pulpit which Mr. De Normandie was entering, to become a professor in Harvard College, where he was to be for many years a loved and revered figure; the Charge to the Minister was given by Edward Everett Hale, who characteristically counselled his young friend not to use his influence before he had it, but not to be afraid to use it after he had won it; two older brothers of Mr. De Normandie, already ordained Unitarian clergymen, also participated in the service which was made still further memorable by the presence of the parents of the three brothers, whose happiness over giving three sons to the Unitarian ministry must have made the occasion radiant as well as solemn. Under such peculiarly favorable auspices Mr. De Normandie began a career which lasted twenty-one years in Portsmouth, followed by forty-one years in the First Church of Roxbury, where he was Pastor Emeritus from April 15, 1917, until his death on October 6, 1924 —a career which fully lived up to the happy auspices under which it began.

Of Dr. De Normandie's ancestry and early education little can be gathered. His published sermons and addresses are singularly impersonal, yielding almost no autobiographical material, and members of his family state that he very seldom referred in private conversation to his early life, perhaps, as one of them suggests, because he was habitually forward instead of backward looking. The roots of the family run back to Noyon in France whence a certain Laurent De Normandie came to Geneva in 1548–9. John Calvin, who then reigned in Geneva, also came from Noyon and it is certain that he and Laurent De Normandie were bound together "by many close ties nor could those of blood surpass our friendship." The great grandson of this Laurent De Normandie had two sons, Jacob and André, who became confidential agents of Frederick I of Prussia. In consequence, Jacob was banished from Geneva in 1707 and in 1708 André arrived in America by way of Holland, landing in Philadelphia. The great grandson of this André was James De Normandie, M.D., whose son, also a physician, married Sarah Yardley, a Hicksite Quaker. From this union James De Normandie was born in Newport, Pennsylvania, June 9, 1836. Soon after this the father, who seems to have been of a roving disposition, removed with his large family to Northumberland, Pennsylvania, where Dr. Joseph Priestley had lived from 1794 until his death in 1804. In one of his exceedingly rare personal references, our associate speaks of having played as a boy among the pieces of physical and chemical apparatus in the laboratory where Priestley had once worked. Of all the large family James alone enjoyed the privilege of a college education: his two brothers entered the Unitarian ministry from Meadville Theological School without taking a college course. Attracted by the fame of Horace Mann, James De Normandie was diverted from Yale, which he had thought of entering, and went to the newly established Antioch College in Ohio, of which the most prominent educator of the time had just become President. He seems to have become a member of the President's household, perhaps in a capacity like that of the President's Freshman at Harvard, for in an unpublished essay upon Horace Mann he gives intimate details of his life and death which could have been

known only by one living in close relations with him. After graduating from Antioch in the class of 1858, our associate taught for a year in St. Louis, Missouri, where he became intimate with Dr. William Greenleaf Eliot, the most influential Unitarian minister in all the Central West, through whose advice, presumably, he was led to enter the Harvard Divinity School from which he graduated in 1862. He received from Harvard the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1898.

Although an exceptionally prolific writer Dr. De Normandie put but little into enduring form. He wrote much for the *Unitarian Review* of which he was editor from 1879 to 1886, as well as for other denominational publications, and periodical magazines. He published also many sermons, of which, however, no complete file is known to exist; certainly he did not keep one. Elected to membership in this Society in 1898, he contributed several communications — of which "The Manifesto Church" (*Proceedings* XLVII. 223–231) and "Nietzsche and the Doctrine of Force" (*Ib.*, XLVIII. 170) were especially notable. He delivered also in 1885–6 a course of eight Lowell Institute Lectures upon The Sunday Question which remain unpublished. Only two of his publications are in book form — *A Memorial Sketch of Harriet Ryan Albee* (1901) and *The Beauty of Wisdom, a Volume of daily Readings from some Ancient Writers, for Family, School, and Private Meditation* (1903). The last named volume indicates the scope of his reading. Naturally, quotations from the Bible are most numerous, about fifty per cent of the whole; there are about forty from Plato, some thirty-two from Montaigne, and thirty from Epictetus, besides many from Marcus Aurelius, Cicero, Plutarch, Confucius and Xenophon. The selections are judiciously made, and the collection as a whole is exceptionally rich and edifying, admirably suited to its purpose. As pastor of two historic churches, Dr. De Normandie was interested in the ecclesiastical history of New England and several of his published essays relate to the churches of Portsmouth, the First Church of Roxbury, and particularly to John Eliot. He examined thoroughly and in first-hand sources the topics upon which he wrote, but his acquaintance with the general field of the

early religious history of New England was not sufficiently wide and thorough to enable him always to put his particular subject in its appropriate context. He was second to none, however, in his knowledge of John Eliot whose character he seemed able to understand from the inside with rare power of sympathetic imagination and appreciation. During Dr. De Normandie's last years, his friends often were reminded of John Eliot's words concerning himself: "Alas, I have lost everything; my understanding leaves me, my memory fails me, my utterance fails me, but I thank God my charity holds out still; I find that grows rather than fails."

It is not however as author or historian that De Normandie will live in the cherishing memory of his friends. He represented a type of the New England parish minister which is rapidly becoming extinct. No one who met him, however casually, could mistake his calling. In dress and manner he was everywhere and always the clergyman. No one had more of the professional spirit, in a fine sense of the term, than he, an *esprit de corps* which led him to welcome every new-comer into the ministry as fellow-member of an honorable and sacred calling, the precious traditions of which were to be loyally maintained and perpetuated. In the conduct of public worship he was always dignified and reverent. His preparation for the pulpit was careful and thorough. Frequently, he wrote out in long hand the Scripture reading he was to use, lest in reading from the printed page he should inadvertently slip into a verse or paragraph which he wished to omit or speak a word he had intended to change. His sermons were always carefully written out in full. How many there were! In his anniversary sermon entitled "Fifty Years in the Ministry" he remarks casually "this is the sixteen hundred and third," and there were still five busy years ahead of him. Judging by such of the sermons as were printed one would be inclined to say that those belonging to the early period of his ministry were as mature in thought and finished in style as those of the later. Perhaps his earlier sermons were more ornate than the later, but the difference is very slight. His thought was never shallow, his style was never slovenly. Although not a profound scholar, he appreciated scholarly work and had an acute perception of the

direction in which scholars were moving. Although usually reckoned among the conservatives in his own denomination, he was reading sympathetically the works of Theodore Parker when most Unitarians would have none of him, he accepted and used Darwin's theory of evolution long before it became fashionable, and was friendly to the higher Biblical criticism at a time when most clergymen were indifferent or hostile. The explanation is that he never posed as a radical or a heretic, but calmly preached the new doctrine as if it were everywhere taken for granted, and so seemed to follow where he really led. By never proclaiming himself heretic he was never taken for one and his relations with his parishioners were so friendly and intimate that they could never take amiss anything he might say.

It was this sympathetic appreciation shown in the field of scholarship and in the delicate tact with which he presented truth from the pulpit, which in personal relations made him a most beloved friend and pastor. On special occasions, especially at weddings and funerals, no man could enter more deeply into the spirit of the hour or speak more clearly and sweetly its central meaning. In the same anniversary discourse to which reference has already been made he says: "The funeral I am to attend this afternoon will be the nine hundred and ninth since I came to you." More than any one of his colleagues he was known as a Son of Consolation. The same quality of sympathetic appreciation made him a much esteemed member of many clubs and an efficient public servant. Immediately upon coming to Roxbury, he became *ex officio* a member of the Trustees of the Roxbury Latin School. The next year he was chosen President of the Board and continued to hold that office until January 1, 1917. He was appointed a Trustee of the Boston Public Library on May 1, 1895, and also served as President of the Board from January 31, 1908, until his resignation on May 8, 1908. In innumerable inconspicuous ways he served the community, attending committee meetings with scrupulous fidelity, to the profit of others although very seldom to his own. Yet he never forgot his calling, and his own parish was his particular and supreme concern. He was the ideal parish minister, lov-

ing the institutions of religion, and especially his own church, and for that very reason his peculiarly rich and enriching life was clouded a little during his later years. He once spoke in public with much feeling of the sadness of a minister who sees his congregation gradually melting away as the old people die and the young people begin their married life in other parts of the city. It is reported that on one occasion he was referred to as a minister having parishioners in every town of Massachusetts except Roxbury. Of course, he fully realized that he was in no way responsible for the changed conditions in the First Church of Roxbury. By a shifting of population the old church became surrounded by foreigners who knew and cared nothing for its history and could not be won to its services. He realized fully that the congregation was dwindling by no fault of his, yet he grieved over the depleted church. Moreover, he once said to me, in substance, that it was hard for an old man to see the things to which he had devoted his life less prosperous at the end than they were at the beginning of his ministry. He was a Unitarian and Unitarianism was less influential when he died than it was when he was ordained. He was consecrated to the maintenance of spiritual values, which at least to outward seeming were less highly esteemed in 1924 than in 1862. Even a conviction that the religious sentiment was more widely diffused and no less genuine than when it was concentrated in the formal organizations of religion could not wholly relieve his feeling over the decadence of the churches, not only that of which he was minister and those of his own denomination, but also of all Protestant churches. Nevertheless, Dr. De Normandie never became sour or pessimistic. He was the youngest of our old clergymen, ever forward looking and with youthful buoyancy of spirit. So long as health permitted he went about his work with unabated zeal, always cheerful, always sympathetic and friendly, hence always welcome and everywhere sought. He was not sanctimonious, neither was he sentimentally soft. When occasion required he could speak severely and act drastically, but in such a way as to retain the confidence and affection of the man whom he felt obliged to rebuke. He knew how to reprove without offence, to guide

without dictation, to console without affectation or cant, everywhere and in all ways approving himself as a faithful minister of Jesus Christ.

In the absence of any complete file of Dr. De Normandie's publications, the following list of such as have come to my notice may prove serviceable.

1864. Christian Peace. A Discourse delivered on the occasion of the National and State Thanksgiving. November 24, 1864. Portsmouth, 1864.

1865. The Lord Reigneth. A few Words on Sunday morning, April 16, 1865, after the Assassination of Abraham Lincoln.

1868. The Bright Side of the Grave. A Sermon preached on Easter Sunday, April 12, 1868. Portsmouth, 1868.

1869. The Two-fold Memorial. A Sermon preached at the request of Storer Encampment . . . on Memorial Day, May 30, 1869. Portsmouth.

1874. True Education. An Address at the opening of Miss A. C. Morgan's School for Young Ladies at Portsmouth, N. H., September 24, 1874.

? Beauty for Ashes. An Easter Sermon, by James De Normandie, Minister of the South Parish, Portsmouth, N. H. The latter part of this sermon was afterwards issued, with abbreviations and modifications, as a separate publication under the same title.

1875. Bread for Nought and The Sin of Extravagance. Two Sermons preached at the Vesper Service, October 3 and October 10, 1875. Portsmouth, 1875.

1876. Oration at the Opening Exercises of Langdon Park, May 25, 1876, in Langdon Park, Portsmouth, N. H. Portsmouth, 1876.

1879. Christ or Confucius. A Sermon preached February 25, 1879. Portsmouth, N. H.

1879. The Unpardonable Sin. A Sermon delivered Sunday evening, June 1, 1879. Portsmouth, N. H., 1879.

1880. The National Work of the Unitarian Church in America. A Paper read at the National Unitarian Conference at Saratoga, September 22, 1880.

1882. History of Rockingham and Strafford Counties, New Hampshire. Philadelphia, 1882. Chapters VII to XIII were written by Dr. De Normandie.

1892. Unitarianism in Evangelical Folds, or, Unitarianism justified by present time theological Movements. A Sermon preached to the First Church, Roxbury, January 31, 1892.

1892. Sunday and the Columbian Fair. A Sermon preached to the First Church, Roxbury, July 24, 1892. Boston, 1892.

1892. The Injustice to the Chinese. A Sermon preached to the First Church, Roxbury, November 20, 1892.

1893. Phillips Brooks and the Church Universal. A Sermon preached to the First Church, Roxbury, January 29, 1893.
1893. Andrew Preston Peabody. A Memorial Sermon preached in King's Chapel, Boston, Sunday, March 6, 1893. Boston, 1893.
1893. The Remaining Glory. A Sermon preached to the Maine Conference of the Unitarian Churches, June, 1893.
1893. The Lord is One, or, Seventy-five years of Unitarianism in America. A Sermon preached on the seventy-fifth anniversary of the First Independent Christ's Church of Baltimore, Md., October 29, 1893.
1894. The Liberty of Christianity — with reference to a proposed revision of the Constitution of the National Conference. A Sermon preached to the First Church, Roxbury, July 1, 1894.
1894. Historical Address at the celebration of the One-hundredth anniversary of the Roxbury Charitable Society, November 22, 1894.
1895. The Roxbury Latin School. *New England Magazine,* June, 1895.
1896. In Memory of William Henry Furness, D.D. A Sermon preached to the First Church in Roxbury, February 2, 1896.
——. John Eliot, the Apostle to the Indians. *New England Magazine,* November, 1896.
——. An Historical Sketch of the First Church in Roxbury, 1896.
1898. Three Old Churches, in *The Portsmouth Book.* Portsmouth, N. H., 1898. (Printed by George H. Ellis, Boston.)
1899. Address at the unveiling of the bust of Sir Walter Scott in the Boston Public Library, May 17, 1899. (Not published. Copy in B. P. L.)
1900. Diabolical Performances near Portsmouth. 2 *Proceedings,* XIV. 168.
——. Remarks on letter of Dr. Stiles to Franklin, *Ib.,* 320.
——. John Elwyn of Portsmouth, *Ib.,* 376.
——. John Eliot. *West Roxbury Magazine,* 1900.
1901. Jonathan Edwards at Portsmouth, N. H. 2 *Proceedings,* XV. 16.
——. Harriet Ryan Albee. A Memorial Sketch. Boston, 1901.
——. Is Punishment Everlasting? In Morgan (ed.), *Theology at the Dawn of the Twentieth Century.* Boston, 1901.
1902. Some Early Religious Matters at the Piscataqua. 2 *Proceedings,* XVI. 175.
1903. Sir William Pepperrell. *Ib.,* XVII. 87.
——. Hymns in Religious History. *Ib.,* XVII. 130.
——. The Beauty of Wisdom. Boston, 1903.
1904. Some Notes from an old Parish Book. 2 *Proceedings,* XVIII. 340.
1905. Manners, Morals, and Laws of the Piscataqua Colony. *Ib.,* XIX. 169.
——. Address at the Funeral Service of F. B. Hornbrooke, D.D., December 11, 1903. Newton, 1905. In *In Memoriam,* by Q. A. D. Hornbrooke.

1907. Address on the Apostle Eliot given. . . . March 17, 1907.
1908. Modernism. *Proceedings,* xli. 430, 499, 519.
1909. Tribute to Edward Everett Hale. *Ib.,* xliii. 4.
1910. In Memoriam. Address at the Funeral of Rev. C. Y. De Normandie, in Kingston, Mass., Feb. 28, 1910.
1911. Memoir of Rev. Edward James Young, D.D. *Proceedings,* xliv. 529.
1912. Tribute to Edward H. Hall. *Ib.,* xlv. 505.
——. An Address delivered on February 25, 1912, at the funeral of Edward H. Hall, D.D., Minister of the First Parish, Cambridge, from 1882 to 1893.
——. Fifty Years in the Ministry. A Sermon preached October 6, 1912. Boston, 1912.
1914. The Anne Hutchinson Statue. Boston, April, 1914.
——. The Memorial Tablets. A Sermon at a Memorial Service in the First Church in Roxbury, November 9, 1913. Boston, 1914.
——. The Manifesto Church. *Proceedings,* xlvii. 223.
1915. Nietzsche and the Doctrine of Force. *Ib.,* xlviii. 170.

NOVEMBER MEETING.

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, November 12, at 3 P.M., President MOORE in the chair. The record of the October meeting was read and accepted. The Librarian reported accessions:

From Charles F. Jenkins, of Philadelphia, of a number of manuscripts, 1644–1782.

From the Bostonian Society, a book once the property of Alden Bradford, Secretary of State of the Commonwealth, containing subscriptions to Bradford's *History of Massachusetts,* Boston, January 30, 1822; to Samuel L. Knapp's *Eminent Lawyers, Statesmen, and Men of Letters,* Boston, March 1, 1821; to James Thacher's *Military Journal during the American Revolutionary War,* Boston, September 18, 1822; and to Theron Metcalf's *Digest of Massachusetts Reports.*

From Grenville H. Norcross, " Rewards of Merit," 1853 to 1857, given by Miss Mary Sigourney Watts, teacher of the primary school under the old Wells Schoolhouse, corner of McLean and Blossom Streets, Boston, to his brother Otis Norcross (1848–1923).

From Dr. Charles W. Townsend, of Ipswich, Mass., by deposit, a volume containing manuscripts, 1704–1798, memoranda, photographs and other material prepared by Elizabeth H. Smith.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported gifts:

From Frank W. Bayley, of a photograph of the portrait of Gov. William Shirley, painted by Thomas Hudson, recently presented to the Commonwealth by Representative Henry Lee Shattuck.

From John Ellerton Lodge, a photograph of his father, the late Senator Henry Cabot Lodge and President of this Society, by Pirie MacDonald of New York.

From Dr. Frederick C. Shattuck, photographs of Charles Edmonston, Lawrence Edmonston, John Lewis Faber, Joseph Alston Huger, Thomas Pinckney Huger, H. Laurens Toomer, and James Wilkinson, pupils in the Round Hill School, Northampton.

From Grenville H. Norcross, a half-tone interior of " The Edward Everett Hale Chapel " in the First Church in Boston, 1925.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that letters had been received from Admiral Francis Tiffany Bowles accepting resident membership and from Arthur Lyon Cross of Ann Arbor, Michigan, accepting corresponding membership in the Society.

Col. Charles Edward Banks, of Martha's Vineyard, was elected a resident member of the Society.

Mr. MURDOCK read a paper on

REV. PETER THACHER'S REPORT ON BUNKER HILL.

Had Washington arrived in Cambridge a month earlier than he did with his continental commission to command the armies of the associated Provinces then employed in the leaguer of Boston, there would probably have been no battle of Bunker Hill. It is certain that, had the action occurred during his command, it would have been conducted by some field officer duly assigned to the task, who would have submitted to the Commander in Chief some comprehensive report of his military stewardship. As it was, there being no supreme authority either on or off the field, there seems to have been no attempt to secure a detailed report of the action. Indeed, no one had the authority to demand and no one was competent to prepare such a document. Stark despatched a few lines for the perusal of the New Hampshire Provincial Congress and Prescott wrote in August to John Adams a brief summary of such events as came under his observation. Ward had no clear comprehension of what had happened and wisely concluded to "let sleeping dogs lie." It was political necessity that finally induced the Massachusetts authorities to take some action in the matter.

On July 6, 1775, the Massachusetts Committee of Safety passed the following vote:

> This Committee have, with great concern, considered the advantages our enemies will derive from General Gage's misrepresentations of the battle of Charlestown, unless counteracted by the truth of that day's transactions being fairly and honestly represented to our friends and others in Great Britain; therefore, Resolved, That it be humbly recommended to the honorable Congress, now sitting at Watertown, to appoint a committee to draw up and transmit to

Great Britain, as soon as possible, a fair, honest, and impartial account of the late battle of Charlestown, on the 17th ultimo, so that our friends, and others in that part of the world, may not be, in any degree, imposed upon by General Gage's misrepresentations of that day's transactions; and that there also be a standing committee for that purpose.

The Congress acted promptly and on the following day ordered: "That the said Committee of Safety be a Committee for that purpose, and that they likewise be a Standing Committee for that and like purposes." With this authority, the Committee appointed a sub-committee, consisting not of soldiers but of three clergymen, the Rev. Dr. Cooper, Rev. Mr. Gardner, and Rev. Mr. Peter Thacher to prepare a suitable account of the battle for the purposes named, and on July 25th, or within a few days thereafter, there was sent to England the document that has long been popularly regarded as the American official account of Bunker Hill, and which forms the subject of this paper. We should not now regard the clergy as the likeliest body from which to select a military historian, but, as I have said, the crisis was political rather than military in its nature and the three worthy parsons produced a document that on the whole must be regarded as creditable to them.

Cooper and Gardner may have had some misgivings as to their qualifications for the task, but at all events, the principal burden seems to have fallen upon the shoulders of the youthful and inexperienced Thacher, then twenty-four years of age and pastor of the church in Malden. Thacher's manuscript copy of his draft prepared for the Committee of Safety is still in existence.[1] His modest preamble I will read in part:

The following account was written by a person who was an eye-witness of the battle of Bunker's Hill. Some of the circumstances the intervention of the hill prevented him from seeing, for he stood on the north side of Mystic river. What facts he did not see himself were communicated to him by Col. Prescot (who commanded

[1] Original in the Cabinet of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester. Printed with editing in their *Proceedings*, New Series, XIX. 438, and also in Dawson's Bunker Hill number of the *Historical Magazine*, June, 1868.

the provincials,) and by other persons who were personally conversant in the scenes which this narration describes. It was drawn up within one fortnight after the 17th of June, 1775, while events were recent in the minds of the actors and it is now faithfully copied from the draft then made in a great hurry, etc.

For a copy of a rough draft this manuscript is disfigured by an amazing amount of tinkering and alterations. Interlineations and erasures abound. From the extract I have read the following confused and ambiguous sentence has been stricken out: "He remembers well however the precipitate retreat of the british troops to the beach and the exertions of the officers to rally and carry them on again to action; this was fair by us for at the moment he ardently wished they might be unsuccessful." In eliminating this passage it would seem as though Thacher was eliminating himself as an eye-witness of the British repulses. I shall indulge later in some speculation as to when and why this erasure was made. We must remember in the first place that we are not discussing the original manuscript that was submitted to the Committee of Safety in 1775, but an author's copy, of date unknown, with alterations made, perhaps, at different times.

Jeremy Belknap says that Thacher's post of observation was near a house on the Malden side of the Mystic near the Penny Ferry, this house being shown on Gordon's map in the second volume of his history.[2] The map is topographically incorrect, but we can locate the same house on Pelham's admirable plan and must conclude, I think, that for an observer of the battle, Thacher was singularly ill-placed. Evidently he was not provided with a glass and he was three-quarters of a mile from the Mystic end of the rail fence and about a mile and a quarter from the British landing place at Moulton's Point. Parts of the beach between the point and the fence were probably visible from where he stood, but the battlefield itself, except for the extreme left, where the New Hampshire men were posted, no glass in the world could have brought within his range of vision. His statement that "some of the circumstances the intervention of the hill pre-

[2] See letter to Ebenezer Hazard, September 3, 1789. 1 *Proceedings*, XIV. 98.

vented him from seeing " might have been profitably amended by substituting the word " most " for " some." Clearly his narrative was founded largely upon what he and his colleagues were told and they may well have been perplexed by the conflict of opinion they encountered and wearied by honest efforts to separate the wheat from the chaff. Prescott is the only witness cited by Thacher and he could have known little of certain matters which the report discusses. It would be interesting to know if Thacher held communion with Stark or Putnam concerning the happenings of the day. The services of New Hampshire and Connecticut are not mentioned in Thacher's draft nor in the resulting report. Thacher was a conscientious man and aglow with patriotic fervor, but to say that he was altogether devoid of the suspicions and jealousies that inspired the leaders of the allied provinces would be perhaps to proclaim him as something more than human.

The Committee's published report [3] was complimentary to Thacher, inasmuch as with a little smoothing here and there it followed closely what he had written. There were certain alterations, seemingly slight but sometimes significant. A paragraph or two was added after it left his hands to give it more the character of a fair, honest and impartial account, so we find allusions to " those miscreants who have introduced desolation and havock into these once happy abodes of liberty, peace, and plenty," to the " ridiculous parade of triumph " with which the troops occupied the captured hill, and learn that " the officers and soldiers of the Ministerial army meanly exult in having gained this ground." The report closes with references to " Ministerial assassins " and " rapacious despots." But these additions were political utterances to offset the effect of Gage's misrepresentations in England. The blame or credit for these does not belong to Thacher.

The most radical change made by the Committee in Thacher's report concerns the duration of the battle. The young parson in his remote station, if provided with a watch, should have been a good authority on this matter, but his

[3] Printed in Frothingham's *Siege, Historical Magazine,* June, 1868, and elsewhere.

statement of exactly "one hour and a half" was altered to read "about an hour." Perhaps Thacher had no watch; at all events, his figure of time must have run counter to the general weight of opinion.

Thacher states that Charlestown burst into flames at the instant the British began their slow advance. His inference was that the enemy fired the place "to favour their attack upon our Lines by the Smoke which they imagined would have been blown directly that away and thence covered them in their attack but the wind changing at this instant it was carried another way."[4] While accepting the time at which Charlestown was fired, the Committee adds this theory of their own, that perhaps the British design was "to rout or destroy one or two Regiment of Provincials who had been posted in that Town," but which had been "already removed." This seems an unnecessary as well as a somewhat damning interpolation in a report offered to refute the statements of the British commander in chief. The Provincial contention that the burning of Charlestown was an act of unprovoked barbarity receives its death blow in this phrase of the Committee's report. If the regiments were already removed when Charlestown began to burn, we must assume that they were there just before the event. Is it likely that they lingered in the village with entirely peaceful intent? The British contention was that Pigot was exceedingly hurt by the musketry from the village. Of course, this fire may have ceased before the battery in Boston began to bomb the place; a half hour may have elapsed between the time of Pigot's complaint to Howe and the receipt of Howe's orders by the Majors-General on Copp's Hill.

The two outstanding statements in Thacher's report which call for comment are first his version of the fighting at the Mystic end of the rail fence and second his reference to the repeated flights of the British to their boats. Having described the abandonment of the redoubt, the Committee's report, following Thacher closely, goes on to say:

[4] Belknap doubted this in 1789. See his letter to Hazard, September 3, 1789, where he says "the circumstance of the wind *shifting* that day, and carrying the smoke *another* course is said to be not true. It was S. W. the whole day, and cinders of the fire were carried over to Chelsea; the smoke in fact incommoded the enemy, but not the intrenchment."

The retreat of this little handful of brave men would have been effectually cut off, had it not happened that the flanking party of the enemy, which was to have come up on the back of the redoubt, was checked by a party of Provincials, who fought with the utmost bravery, and kept them from advancing farther than the beach. The engagement of these two parties was kept up with the utmost vigour; and it must be acknowledged that this party of the Ministerial Troops evidenced a courage worthy of a better cause. All their efforts, however, were insufficient to compel the Provincials to retreat, till their main body had left the hill.

Now there was only one beach to which the British could have been held and that was on the Mystic side, and both British and American evidence is all to the effect that the fighting there was a prologue and not an epilogue to the battle. In other words, it is difficult to escape the conviction that Thacher's chronology is wrong. Howe had no sufficient force in that part of the field to have undertaken an offensive at the close of the battle and we may well conclude that Thacher was misinformed or in some way got his accounts confused. Of course, Prescott could have told him nothing about events in this quarter and I have a keen suspicion that Chaplain Martin was the man who led Thacher astray.[5] This is substantially the story that Martin told to Stiles on June 30, three weeks before the completion of the Committee's report, and in no other source do you find a whisper of such a legend. Thacher was doubtless conscientious in his search for information and Martin was not a witness who would have been willingly overlooked. It is a fair presumption that Martin fooled Thacher as he fooled Stiles, but at all events, the Committee's statement of heavy fighting on the Mystic during the closing minutes of the battle may well be rejected as an error in fact.

In regard to the second point, the repeated flights of the enemy to their boats. So far as Thacher was concerned, these long journeys ended at "the point where they landed," or at "their boats," in which some of the men took refuge, while "spectators on the opposite shore" saw the officers come down to them and "use the most passionate gestures and even to push forward the men with their swords." This, of

[5] *Proceedings*, LVIII. 201.

course, occurred, if it did occur, on the Mystic shore near Moulton's Point. This, as I have said, was territory probably within the range of Thacher's vision as he stood more than a mile away at the Penny Ferry and there was a time, somewhere between 1775 and 1789, when he honestly believed he had seen with his own eyes the terrified soldiers climbing into their boats. It was a good half mile from Moulton's Point to the line of the rail fence and a still longer distance separated the redoubt from the beach. The land was rough and crossed and recrossed by walls and fences. Yet with so far to go and so much to do, the Committee could allow the British but an hour for their repeated advances, reorganizations and routs. Perhaps they felt that Thacher was protesting too much in these details of the affair: at all events, it is certain that in the alteration of a single word they achieved a significant compromise in Thacher's narrative. His account stating that they fled a second time to their boats, the Committee's report amends to read "towards" instead of "to." So in its final form the report has the British flying once to the beach, many of the men seeking refuge in their boats, and breaking again on a second attack retreating *toward* the same point. I have said that this alteration is significant. Perhaps it was the subject of discussion before it was consigned to print.

Out of this paragraph there came a correspondence in 1789 that is not only amusing but important.[6] In 1788 the Reverend William Gordon published his history of the War in England and the Committee's report formed the basis for his narrative of Bunker Hill. Indeed, his words are practically those of Thacher. His allegation as to the flight of the troops to their boats was too much for his British audience and he was roundly accused, particularly in military quarters, of gross prevarication. Although he had the Committee's report to sustain him, he determined to secure the evidence of reputable eye-witnesses to confound his critics. So in much perturbation of mind he addressed a letter to his friend Ebenezer Hazard in America, stating that he had no doubt of the truth of his statements and that the military men in England were "for saving *the British honor*." He is under

[6] For this correspondence see 1 *Proceedings*, XIV. 93–98.

the impression that the Reverend Mr. Thacher was an eye-witness of the disputed event and begs Hazard to get into touch with him and others with him, to attest the veracity of the historian in every part of the paragraph.

On August 8, 1789, Hazard wrote to Jeremy Belknap in Boston, stating Gordon's predicament and requesting this definite confirmation of his statements. Now Belknap was no admirer of Gordon and did not altogether relish the request. But on August 19th he writes to Hazard that little as he likes the task, he will confer not only with Thacher but with "another" who viewed the battle from a more advantageous position. He warns Hazard that neither of these gentlemen cherish any regard for Gordon and he may have difficulty in getting them to stand forth to substantiate anything he has written.

Belknap determines not to approach Thacher at once but gets into touch with his other witness, who he tells us saw the battle from a hill in Chelsea and was supplied with a perspective glass. His worst fears were realized. The man despised Gordon and was inclined to be non-communicative. Apparently he refused to comment on the controverted question, but did state that other parts of the battle and of the affair at Lexington had both been misrepresented by the historian. In his letter to Hazard dated August 25th, Belknap expresses his own belief in the truth of Gordon's account and regrets the attitude of a promising witness. "His ill opinion of G. as an historian makes him decline lending his name to support anything that he has said."

Belknap now turns to Thacher and to his surprise finds him "rather more candidly disposed" than he had hoped. Indeed, Thacher assured him "of the fact which he observed with his own eyes, viz: that the British troops retreated *to their boats,* and that the officers were busily engaged in getting them to march up." In his letter to Hazard, dated September 3, Belknap reports on this interview as follows: "The enemy landed on Morton's Point, and some of the boats came round the point to a bight or cove which you may see in the plan, so as to be in view of the place where he stood, and these were the boats to which he saw some of them retreat. Other boats remained on the side of the point next to Boston,

these were out of his view." This information was, of course, precisely what Gordon hoped to get, and Hazard may well have been pleased that his efforts on behalf of his friend had been so completely rewarded. What, then, must have been his surprise to receive, a fortnight later, another letter from Belknap dated September 19, and containing the following words: " Enclosed you have a paper copied by Mr. Thacher from an account he wrote of the Charlestown battle while it was young and fresh, and which he is willing Dr. Gordon should have. He says, upon farther recollection, that he is not certain *that boats came round Morton's Point;* but he is sure they were driven down to the edge of the water by our people's fire, and driven up again by their own officers. I am willing to be the instrument of conveying any information or correction to Dr. G., but do not desire *to be known or spoken of* as such."

Now Thacher's manuscript offering to Gordon was not a priceless gift, as it was probably nothing but what he had written for the Committee of Safety and which was incorporated entire in their report. Despite the fact that he felt certain matters did happen as Gordon narrates, his elimination of the boats leaves it conjectural as to whether he ever saw any retreat " to the edge of the water." What happened in the fortnight between Belknap's interview with Thacher and the receipt of the latter's final word upon the subject? Did Thacher have a resurgence of vindictive feeling toward Gordon, or is his correction to be attributed to the writhings of a New England conscience? Here is a chance for theorizing. Perhaps Thacher, in seeking to refresh his memory, turned to that very copy of his draft which is now in existence. Perhaps he found there the erasures previously made which convinced him he had not been an eye-witness after all and as an honest man he proceeded to set himself right with Belknap. Perhaps, on the other hand, he only reflected upon the matter and became so confused as to what he had seen, heard or dreamed, that he made the erasure at that time and confided his honest doubts to Belknap. At all events, so far as Gordon was concerned, Thacher was eliminated as an eye-witness. Poor Gordon was too British for the Americans of 1779, and he was too American for the

British of that day. He learned, as many others were destined to learn, that whoever stirred the smouldering ashes of Bunker Hill must not complain of burns. He fell miserably between two stools, his witnesses failed him and the report of the Committee of Safety remained for him as it does for us the only authority for the almost incredible statement of the flights of the King's troops to their boats. If Thacher's work ranks low as an historical authority, the fault lies rather with his informants than with him. The young Malden clergyman did not love the public enemy, he was no advocate for turning the other cheek, yet he wrote with restraint and in a judicial spirit that was rare among the partisans of his time. To him we are indebted for the least unfair and the least partial of all the "Fair and Impartial" accounts issued by the local Revolutionary leaders during those stormy years from 1770 to 1775.

Mr. Charles Warren read the following paper:

What Has Become of the Portraits of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, Belonging to Congress?

On Sunday, July 12, 1778, there arrived in Philadelphia Conrad Alexander Gérard de Rayneval, the first French Minister to the United States. As stated by the newspapers, "he was accompanied from Chester to an elegant apartment provided for him in Market Street, by a Committee of Congress appointed for that purpose. On his entrance to the city, he was saluted by Colonel Proctor's artillery. It is impossible to describe the joy that appeared in every good man's countenance over the auspicious event." The troops were lined up and cannon thundered to receive me. Mr. [Henry] Laurens [President of Congress], almost all the members, and the principal men of the city, even the most phlegmatic, hurried to visit me, wrote Gérard to Vergennes.[1]

Gérard had set sail from Toulon in France, April 12, on the *Languedoc*, one of Count D'Estaing's fleet of twelve "sail of the line." His departure had been attended with

[1] Doniol, *Histoire de la Participation de la France a l'établissement des États Unis d'Amérique* (1892), III. 268, 269, letter of July 19, 1778.

the greatest secrecy. His identity was concealed under the name of M. de Munster; orders were issued that no letters from the fleet should mention the presence of Munster, or of Silas Deane, or of the American officers who also sailed to act as guides to Estaing's forces; the destination was given out, as Brest. Not until the fleet was three days out on the ocean beyond Gibraltar was its true mission revealed, when a solemn mass was celebrated on the *Languedoc,* Gérard was presented in his true character as the King's Minister to Congress, and instructions were read by the Admiral, declaring the opening of war by France on Great Britain.[2] On July 7, 1778, the fleet dropped anchor in Delaware Bay, after a voyage of eight-six days.

While Gérard was on the water, the two treaties of Commerce and of Alliance with France, negotiated in Paris on February 6, had been ratified by the Congress of the United States, on May 4, 1778; and the King of France had already, prior to the treaties, granted to the United States three million livres in gratuities. Another three million was to be loaned during that year; and there were hopes for further loans in subsequent years. Moreover, through Beaumarchais, supplies and munitions amounting to over seven million livres had been shipped. "The favorable issue of our negotiations with France is matter for heartfelt joy, big with important events," wrote Washington from Valley Forge to Richard Henry Lee, "and it must, I should think, chalk out a plain and easy road to independence."[3] It is small wonder, therefore, that the arrival of the new Minister was the subject of great enthusiasm in Philadelphia. That city had already been given over to other celebrations. Only a month before, on June 18, 1778, the British army under Sir Henry Clinton had evacuated, after nine months of possession; only a few days before, Washington had retrieved General Charles Lee's defeat at the battle of Monmouth; and "an elegant entertainment was given at the City Tavern by the officers of the army and other gentlemen of the city to the young ladies who

[2] *Doniol, supra,* III. 181, 182, 185, 189.

[3] *The Writings of George Washington* (Ford's Ed.), VII., letter of May 25, 1778; see also his letters of welcome to Count D'Estaing, July 17, 22, 1778; and his letters of appreciation of the French efforts, to Joseph Reed, May 28, 1780, and to La Luzerne, June 5, 1780. *Ibid.,* VIII.

had manifested their attachment to the cause of virtue and freedom by sacrificing every convenience to the love of their country." [4]

So great was the impression made by the new French Alliance that an enthusiastic writer in a Philadelphia paper was moved to announce that even Nature and the Heavens were celebrating — "Heaven and Earth gave signs of gratulation," he quoted on penning the following letter:[5]

It may not be altogether certain that every uncommon appearance in inanimate nature is correspondent to one equally singular in the political and rational system. It must, however, be observed as something extremely observable, that after the surrender of Burgoyne and while a treaty of alliance and commerce with France was on the carpet, the American heavens were brightly illuminated, at different intervals, for whole months together; the aurora borealis, our northern lights, were then the greatest and most beautiful that had ever been seen in America.

2. When the fleet of his Most Christian Majesty, twelve ships of the line, and by the capture of a British ship of force, thirteen, under the command of Admiral, the illustrious D'Estaing hove in sight of our Capes, the artillery of the skies was discharged, and thirteen thunders were distinctly heard on the west of the Delaware.

3. On the morning after the arrival of his Plenipotentiary, the accomplished Gérard, being the thirteenth of the month, an aloe-tree, the only one in this State, immediately shot forth its spire, which it never does but once in the course of its existence, and in some other

[4] *Pennsylvania Evening Post,* Aug. 25, 1778. The *Pennsylvania Packet,* July 4, published these notices: "Friday, July 3, notice is given to the Inhabitants of Philadelphia, that the Honorable the Congress does not expect they will illuminate their houses tomorrow, Lewis Nicola, T. M." "Phil. July 1, 1778. The excessive heat of the weather, the present scarcity of candles, and other considerations induce the council to recommend to the inhabitants to forbear illuminating the city on Saturday evening next. By Order, T. Matlack, Secretary."

There were some inhabitants of Philadelphia who witnessed the departure of the British and the arrival of the French Minister with sorrow. "When the British army entered the city of Philadelphia, a citizen (by birth an Englishman) met a friend of his in the street and congratulated him upon the occasion, giving as a reason for his joy, that he should now have punch for 1 shilling sixpence a bowl, and wine for five shillings a quart — a circumstance which reconciled him to holding his property, liberty and life at the will of an arbitrary master." *Pennsylvania Packet,* Aug. 3, 1778.

[5] *Pennsylvania Packet,* Aug. 1, 1778; *Pennsylvania Evening Post,* Aug. 4, 1778.

climate in not less than one hundred years. It had been planted about forty five years in the neighborhood of this city, and heretofore, every year, had produced four leaves, but early this spring it spread forth thirteen. The spire is remarkable, being thirteen inches round and having grown thirteen feet in thirteen days.

Gérard wrote to Vergennes, July 25, that "the appearance of the King's fleet appears to have united all hearts and all minds in the same sentiments. Two of the delegates to Congress have brought to me their sons, in order, as they say, to inculcate in them, early, the mission of the King's Minister on this decisive epoch for their country, an epoch most proper to fix their affections firmly on their political principles." [6] The political conditions, however, which confronted Gérard were not entirely happy. In the first place, as he wrote, Philadelphia was reduced to one-third of its ordinary population; and of this one-third, only one-quarter, at most, belonged to the Independence Party. New York, Boston, and all the commercial and populous towns presented the same spectacle. Three-quarters of those who remained in Philadelphia were "contraires, et contraires avec insolence." In fact, wrote Gérard, "Congress sat in the most English City of the United States." There was also in Congress a considerable faction, of which a Scotch Minister named Wederspun [Witherspoon], the only one of his cloth in Congress, was the soul," and Samuel Adams, also a member, who were not enthusiastic over the French Alliance and who were believed to be willing to enter into some compromise with Great Britain.[7] Moreover the control by Congress over affairs was none too secure; for the new Articles of Confederation had not as yet been ratified by all of the States, Virginia and Maryland being still refractory.

[6] *Donoil*, III. 266, 272; *Ibid.*, v. 3. Vergennes wrote to Luzerne early in 1779, that Gérard's despatches showed a party in Congress favoring Great Britain and headed by Richard Henry Lee and Samuel Adams.

[7] Samuel Adams wrote to James Warren, Oct. 11, 1778, referring to France and "the honeymoon of National Matrimony. . . . Our affairs even in France wore a gloomy aspect during the last year until the news of our army at the Northward being completely victorious. This was the decisive language which commanded success in the Court of France. To this we are indebted for the acknowledgment of our independence, the Treaty, and the French fleet." *The Writings of Samuel Adams* (1908), IV.

Realizing this situation, Congress itself determined to place great emphasis on the importance of the French Alliance and the advent of the Minister, and accordingly it took early and elaborate steps for his reception. On July 11, it ordered that "the Board of War take measures for providing a suitable house for the accommodation of the Sieur Gérard . . . and that they give the necessary orders for receiving Mons. Gérard with proper honours on his arrival in this city." It appointed a Committee of five, consisting of John Hancock, Richard Henry Lee, William Henry Drayton, Daniel Roberdeau and William Duer, "to wait on Mr. Gérard on his arrival and conduct him to his lodgings." On July 14, it appointed a Committee, consisting of Richard Henry Lee, Samuel Adams and Gouverneur Morris, "on the time and manner of the public reception" of the new Minister.[8] On July 16, the copy of the speech which Gérard intended to deliver at his public audience having been forwarded by him to Congress, in advance of his arrival, it was referred to a Committee, consisting of Lee, Gouverneur Morris and John Witherspoon. Two successive Committees to draft an answer to Gérard's speech were appointed, and their reports were debated on four days, July 24, 27, 29, and 30. George Read, Francis Dana and Gouverneur Morris were made a Committee "to direct and superintend an entertainment" to be given by Congress to Gérard.

[8] *Journals of the Continental Congress* (1908), X. July 11, 14, 16, 17, 1778. On the day after Gérard's arrival, the Massachusetts delegation "paid him their complements in form;" and Samuel Adams, writing to James Warren, July 15, 1778, said: "I know not that those of any other State have observed the ceremony. It appeared to us highly proper. We were received with politeness, and heard some handsome things said of the State we have the honor to represent." Adams added: "Would you think that one so little of the Man of the World as I am should be joynd in a Committee to settle ceremonials? It is however of some importance that we agree upon forms that are adapted to the true *republican* principles; for this instance may be recurred to as a precedent in futurity." To this, Warren replied, Aug. 18: "I think Congress have pitched on a person to settle ceremonials who will not be in favour of what I hate, pompous parade, etc. . . . In my opinion, all the plainness and simplicity consistent with decency should be used on such an occasion as agreeing best with our circumstances and profession; but there is such a variant and inconsistency between the practice and profession of patriots as well as Christians that I can easily conceive even a Member of Congress exhibiting on such an occasion all the magnificence of monarchy." *Warren-Adams Letters*, II. 33, 34, 48.

That the Congress was considerably perturbed over the proper manner of receiving a foreign diplomat is seen from the fact that it considered and debated the report of the Committee on manner of reception on four days, July 17, 18, 20, and August 5. The Committee's first report was not adopted, for it contained one elaborate plan for receiving Ambassadors, another plan for Ministers, and a third for Residents — Ambassadors to be entitled to be waited upon by three Members of Congress, Ministers by only two Members; Ambassadors to receive a salute and military honors and respect paid to a general officer in the service of the United States, Ministers to receive no salute, but such military honors "as are paid to a general officer of the second rank." Even the height of the Ambassador's chair above the floor, viz. eighteen inches, was to be regulated, while the President of Congress was to be "seated on a chair raised upon a stage two feet above the ground." A substitute report was adopted, which only provided for the manner of reception of a Minister; and even this report was added to in great detail, on the day before the date set for the event. Congress also voted that each member should be entitled to two tickets and that no one, except bearers of these tickets and the members of the Assembly, and presiding officials of the State of Pennsylvania (who received special invitation), should be admitted to the audience.

Because of these prolonged debates over minute preparations, the new Minister had been in Philadelphia for nearly a month, before Congress was prepared to notify him (on August 3) through its Commissioners, Richard Henry Lee and Samuel Adams, that it would give him an audience on August 6. On the morning of that day, Lee and Adams called on Gérard, and escorted him, in a carriage drawn by six horses, to the State House. In that building, the Congress was sitting in the east room, in which the Declaration of Independence had been signed two years before. The curious ceremony of the reception, following the details prescribed by vote of Congress, was thus described in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, August 13, 1778:

The carriages being arrived at the State House in this city, the two members of Congress, placing themselves at the Minister's left

hand, introduced him to the chair in the Congress Chamber, the President and Congress sitting; the chair was placed fronting the President. The Minister, being seated, handed his credentials to his Secretary, who advanced and delivered them to the President [Henry Laurens]. The Secretary of Congress [Charles Thomson] then read and translated them; which being done, Mr. Lee announced *The Minister,* to the President and Congress; at this time, the President, the Congress, and the Minister rose together. He bowed to the President and Congress; they bowed to him.[9] Whereupon the whole seated themselves. In a moment, the Minister rose and made a speech to Congress; they sitting. The speech being finished, the Minister sat down, and giving a copy of his speech to his Secretary, he presented it to the President. The President and Congress then rose, and the President pronounced their answer to the speech, the Minister standing. The answer being ended, the whole were again seated, the President giving a copy of the answer to the Secretary of Congress, he presented it to the Minister. The President, the Congress and the Minister then again rose together; the Minister bowed to the President who returned the salute, and then to the Congress who also bowed in return. And the Minister having again bowed to the President and received his bow, he withdrew, and was attended home in the same manner in which he had been conducted to the audience.

Within the bar of the House, the Congress formed a semicircle on each side of the President, and the Minister; the President sitting at one extremity of the circle, at a table upon a platform elevated two steps, the Minister sitting at the opposite extremity of the circle, in an armchair upon the same level with Congress.

The door of the Congress Chamber was on this occasion thrown open, and without the bar were admitted to the audience, the Vice President of the Supreme Executive Council of the State, the Speaker and Assembly of Pennsylvania, foreigners of distinction, and officers of the army. Thus has a new and noble sight been exhibited in this New World — the Representatives of the United States of America solemnly giving public audience to a Minister plenipotentiary from the most powerful prince in Europe. Four years ago such an event, at so near a day, was not in the view even of imagination; but it is the Almighty who raiseth up; He hath stationed America among the powers of the earth, and clothed her in robes of sovereignty.

[9] Some of the bows required by the vote of Congress of August 5, 1778, seem omitted; for by the vote, at this point, "the Minister and the President shall then bow to each other, and be seated, after which the House shall sit down."

The audience being over, the Congress and the Minister at a proper hour repaired to an entertainment by Congress given to the Minister, at which were present, by invitation, several foreigners of distinction and gentlemen of public character. The entertainment was conducted with a decorum suited to the occasion, and gave the most perfect satisfaction to the whole company.

At this dinner, twenty-one toasts were drunk, among others, to the King, the Queen, the King of Spain, the Perpetuity of the Alliance, and Success to the Allied Armies. Gérard himself reported to Vergennes, in the greatest of detail, the manner of his reception and transmitted a *Plan de la Séance,* from which it appears that the President sat at one end of the hall, with a long, green-cloth covered table in front of him; and in curved lines along the sidewalls on either hand were sixteen desks for the Members of Congress. A bar, with an opening, shut off the end of the hall towards the entrance door; and behind this bar, those who were admitted as spectators stood, without seats. Gérard described, with much fullness, the long debates over the manner of his reception, amongst others a debate over allowing any spectators at the reception, "for until then Congress had never admitted the public to its sittings." The delegates from the Southern States, "vainer than those of North," voted for publicity. "Very confused notions prevail here of the honours, dignities, and etiquette of a sovereign State; but the details mark the division which reigns between the States of the North and those of the South." [10]

On Monday, August 24, 1778, "an elegant entertainment was given at the City Tavern by his Excellency the French Minister, to the Honorable the President and Members of Congress and the principal civil and military officers, as a celebration of the birthday of his most Christian Majesty." [11] "I would have liked to have ended with a ball," wrote Gérard to Vergennes, "but I was given to understand that it would be willingly given up, because it was necessary to establish an absolute line of demarcation between the Wighs [Whigs] and the Tories, especially among the women; and also there

[10] *Doniol,* III. 277, 312, 314, Gérard's report to De Vergennes, Aug. 7, 1778.

[11] *Pennsylvania Evening Post,* August 28, 1778.

was objection because of a law voted under Presbyterian influence at the time of the siege to forbid public entertainments, in order to obtain heaven's protection." [12]

Gérard performed his duties as Minister with the greatest satisfaction to this country. "A few days ago," wrote Samuel Adams, August 11, "he made a visit to the Delegates of the Massachusetts Bay, who live together. He is easy and polite in his manner, and conversed freely without much ceremony." [13] His house, as he reported, became an informal place of assembly for the delegates in Congress. His duties, however, were arduous; for there were sources of friction in the relations between this country and France and Spain, with respect to questions of fishery, navigation of the Mississippi, and joint operation of the war. The bitter recrimination between Silas Deane, Arthur Lee and Franklin over their respective performances in France, was a continual source of cabal in Congress which further complicated matters for Gérard. Moreover, the hot climate of Philadelphia seriously affected his health, and as early as October he asked Vergennes for his recall.[14] Before Gérard's return to France in September, 1779, Congress found itself in urgent need of further financial aid; and the French Minister furnished it with an opportunity to bring its needs to the attention of the King of France. On May 4, 1779, Gérard transmitted to Congress a letter "from his most Christian Majesty" informing Congress of the birth of a Princess to the Royal family. At this time, Louis XVI was twenty-eight years old; he had been married for eight years; he had been on the throne for four years; and this was his first child — Marie Thérèse, the Dauphiness. Born the subject of effusive American congratulation, she was destined, within a few years, to pass three years in prison as "the orphan of the Temple" (and later to marry Louis, Duc d'Angoulême, son of Charles X).

[12] *Doniol,* III. 396.

[13] *Writings of Samuel Adams* (1908), IV. Adams to Peter Thacher, Aug. 11, 1778. It may be noted that Congress leased, for the occupancy of the Minister, the house of John Dickinson. See *Journals of the Continental Congress,* X. August 26, September 4, 1778; XIV. May 31, June 18, 1779.

[14] *Doniol,* IV. 3, letter of Oct. 25, 1778. Gérard suffered from high fevers, "une maladie de foie." *Ibid.,* 79, 80.

On receipt of this Royal news, Congress proceeded to pass a Resolve "that the President, with a Committee consisting of a member from each State, wait on the Minister Plenipotentiary of France and congratulate him on this event," and it further resolved "that a Committee of three be appointed to prepare the draught of a letter in answer to that from his Most Christian Majesty. The members chosen: Mr. [John] Jay, Mr. [Gouverneur] Morris and Mr. [John] Witherspoon."[15]

And a week later, Congress combined business with pleasure, flattery with appeal for aid, by passing the following resolve:

It is ordered; that the Committee, appointed to prepare an answer to the letter lately received by Congress from his Most Christian Majesty, do also report the draft of a representation to the King of France, stating the difficulties to which these States are exposed in obtaining arms, military and naval stores and clothing for the American army and navy, requesting his Majesty to order them to be furnished with the necessary supplies, and pledging to him the faith of these States for the repayment of such sums with interest, as may be advanced on their account, as soon as the restoration of peace shall enable them to make the necessary remittances. That the said representation contain strong assurances of the confidence of Congress in the friendship of his Majesty, and of their determination to evince the sense they entertain of it by a uniform adherence to the principles of the alliance.

On June 15, 1779, the Committee appointed to prepare an answer to the letter from his Most Christian Majesty submitted a skilfully drafted document, in which the King was not only congratulated, but also was asked to present to Congress portraits of himself and of the Queen; and this letter Congress voted to adopt and send.

Great, Faithful, and Beloved Friend and Ally; The repeated proofs we have received of Your Majesty's regard for the United States will lead their citizens to rejoice in every event that may conduce to Your happiness or glory. It affords us particular pleasure to

[15] *Journals of the Continental Congress* (1909), XIV. May 4, June 15, 1779; *Secret Journal of the Acts and Proceedings of Congress,* May 4, June 15, 1779.

hear that Providence has been pleased to bless your nuptials with the birth of a princess; and we pray God that the virtues and honour of your illustrious family may be perpetuated in a race of descendants worthy of so great and good an ancestor.

We receive with great satisfaction and sensibility Your Majesty's assurances of esteem and constant regard; and we entreat you to be persuaded that the permanence and stability of our friendship will be equal to the magnanimity of that conduct, and the importance of those good offices, by which it was created.

Permit us to request the favour of Your Majesty to oblige us with portraits of yourself and royal consort, that, by being placed in our Council Chamber, the representatives of these States may daily have before their eyes, the first royal friends and patrons of their cause.

We beseech the Supreme Disposer of events to keep you both in his Holy protection, and long to continue to France the blessings resulting from the administration of a prince who nobly asserts the rights of mankind.

That the pictures thus asked for were to be an addition to a very scanty decoration of the room in which the Congress sat is seen from a description of the room, in 1782, by a French nobleman, then travelling in this country, who wrote that it was large, "without any other ornament than a bad engraving of Montgomery, one of Washington, and a copy of the Declaration of Independence. It is furnished with thirteen tables, each covered with green cloth. One of the principal representatives of the thirteen States sits during the Session at each of these tables. The President of the Congress has his place in the middle of the hall upon a sort of throne. The clerk is seated just below him."[16]

At the same time with the adoption of this letter, Congress voted to appeal to the King for funds to the amount of

[16] *Journal de Voyage du Prince de Broglie, Colonel, etc.* in *Société des Bibliophiles Français; Les Français en Amérique* (tr. by T. W. and E. S. Balch).

The Marquis de Chastellux, in 1780 wrote: "The hall in which Congress assembles is spacious, without magnificence; the handsomest ornament is the portrait of General Washington, larger than life. He is on foot, in that noble and easy attitude which is natural to him; cannon, colours, and all the attributes of war form the accessories of the picture." The portrait was that by Charles Willson Peale of "Washington after the Battle of Princeton." It seems not to have been in the room two years later when Broglie visited in 1782, for he speaks apparently of an engraving of Washington.

505,792 pounds sterling for army purposes and 60,356 pounds sterling for the navy, which read, in part, as follows:

> The Representation and request of the Congress of the United States of America to their great, faithful and beloved friend and ally, Lewis, the sixteenth, King of France and Navarre. . . . We therefore take the liberty of requesting your Majesty to furnish us with these necessary supplies, an estimate of which we have ordered our Minister to lay before you; and we pledge the faith of these States for the repayment with interest of whatever sums may be advanced for that purpose, as soon as the restoration of peace shall have enabled us. Be assured that they shall be vigorously used against the common enemy, with whom we shall neither conclude peace nor truce without your concurrence; and that it is our sincere desire, that the alliance between us may be as beneficial to France, as it has been liberal and salutary to these United States.

The complimentary action as to the royal portraits was followed up by a vote adopted by Congress, August 23, 1779, on the motion of Elbridge Gerry, seconded by Gouverneur Morris, for the appointment of a Committee of one member from each State "to congratulate the Minister of France on the anniversary of the birth of his Most Christian Majesty, and to assure him that the pleasure which we feel on this occasion can be estimated by those only who have a just sense of the extensive blessings which many nations have already derived from his wisdom, justice and magnanimity, and of the prospect of general happiness to mankind through the influence of his Majesty's virtuous exertions and glorious example." This language seems a trifle hyperbolical to have been addressed to a youth of twenty-nine years of age, whom history has not recorded as a very shining example of either wisdom, justice or glory.

As a contrast to the rather extravagant expressions of Congress and of many of statesmen of the time towards the alliance, it is interesting to note that General Washington preserved much more restrained views; and, in connection with a proposal which had been made that the United States should join France in an invasion of Canada, he wrote to Laurens, President of the Congress, a coolly cautious, even somewhat cynical letter:[17]

[17] *The Writings of George Washington* (Ford's Ed.), VII. letter of Nov. 14, 1778. Washington also wrote, at length, to Gouverneur Morris, July 24,

Men are very apt to run into extremes. Hatred to England may carry some into an excess of confidence in France, especially when motives of gratitude are thrown into the scale. Men of this description would be unwilling to suppose France capable of acting so ungenerous a part. I am heartily disposed to entertain the most favorable sentiments of our new ally, and to cherish them in others to a reasonable degree. But it is a maxim, founded on the universal experience of mankind, that no nation is to be trusted farther than it is bound by its interest; and no prudent statesman or politician will venture to depart from it. In our circumstances, we ought to be particularly cautious; for we have not yet attained sufficient vigor and maturity to recover from the shock of any false step into which we may unwarily fall. . . . I do not like to add to the number of our national obligations. I would wish, as much as possible, to avoid giving a foreign power new claims of merit for services performed to the United States, and would ask no assistance that is not indispensable.

The dispatch of the very diplomatic letters, by Congress, combining flattery and mendicancy, produced results in the form of financial loans — 1,000,000 livres in 1779; 4,000,000 in 1780, 4,000,000 in 1781, and 6,000,000 in 1782 (a total of 18,000,000 between February 28, 1778, and July 5, 1782). But three years rolled by without any artistic response to the letters, and without the arrival in Philadelphia of any portraits of the Royal Allies.

Two other episodes in connection with Gérard's stay in this country are notable. One is the curious fact, that only three years after the signing of the Declaration of Independence, its anniversary on the Fourth of July was celebrated by a Te Deum which Gérard ordered to be sung in the Catholic

1778, as to the presence of foreign officers in the army: "The design of this is to touch, cursorily, upon a subject of very great importance to the well-being of these States; much more so than will appear at first view. I mean the appointment of so many foreigners to offices of high rank and trust in our service. . . . Baron Steuben, I now find, is also wanting to quit his inspectorship for a command in the line. This will be productive of much discontent to the brigadiers. In a word, although I think the Baron an excellent officer, I do most devoutly wish, that we had not a single foreigner among us, except the Marquis de Lafayette, who acts upon very different principles from those which govern the rest. . . . P. S. This letter as you will perceive is written with the freedom of a friend. Do not, therefore, make me enemies by publishing what is intended for your own information and that of particular friends."

Chapel, and which was attended by the Congress, the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, the magistrates, the leading military officers and the principal citizens.[18] The other was Gérard's successful effort, over the opposition of Samuel Adams and the pro-British party, to get Congress to pass a vote on January 14, 1779, by which it agreed not to conclude either a truce or peace with the common enemy, without the formal consent of their ally.[19] In view of the criticisms on a similar agreement between the Allies, in the World War in 1914, this vote of 1779 is of striking interest.

Gérard's return to France was finally fixed for September,[20] and a new Minister, Chevalier César Anne de La Luzerne, embarked for the United States.[21] Meanwhile, Congress, in

[18] *Doniol,* IV. 209.

[19] This vote was as follows: "Resolved that as neither France or these United States may of right, so these United States will not conclude either truce or peace with the common enemy, without the formal consent of their ally first obtained, and that any matters or things which may be insinuated or asserted to the contrary thereof tend to the injury and dishonor of the said States." *Journals of the Continental Congress,* XIII. 61–63. Gérard's reports to Vergennes are filled with somewhat unjust suspicions of Samuel Adams' attitude towards France; but Adams evidently considered his relation to be friendly, for he wrote to Charles Chauncy, Dec. 25, 1778: "I have reason to believe that I am on terms of friendship with the Sieur Gérard. In private conversation with him I purposely mentioned Mr. [John] Temple's name, and I conclude we concur in sentiment that, however upright the heart of any gentleman may be, yet if the opinion prevails among the people that he is a secret emissary from the enemy, his residence near the Congress might, at this juncture especially, make improper impressions on the minds of our friends abroad." See also Adams to James Bowdoin, Dec. 19, 1778.

[20] *Doniol,* IV. 209. Apparently, there were some who were not greatly impressed with the hospitality of Philadelphia; for Benjamin Franklin wrote from Paris to Cyrus Griffin, March 16, 1780, after Gérard's return: "I will take the first opportunity of mentioning to M. Gérard what you hint relative to our not entertaining strangers so frequently and liberally as is the custom in France. But he has travelled in Europe and knows that nations differ." *The Works of Benjamin Franklin* (1904), VIII.

[21] John Jay and Gérard landed at Cadiz, Jan. 22, 1780. Franklin wrote to friends in the States, prior to La Luzerne's arrival, that "he is a gentleman of a most amiable character, has great connections here and is a hearty friend to America." See letters to Gov. William Green of Rhode Island, Francis Hopkinson, John Jay, the Council of Massachusetts Bay, Charles Carroll, June 4, 1779. La Luzerne was a nephew of M. de Malesherbes.

Washington wrote to Lafayette, from West Point, Sept. 31, 1779, describing La Luzerne's visit to him, there: "The Chevalier, till he had announced himself to Congress, did not choose to be received in his public character. If he had, except paying him military honors, it was not my intention to depart from that plain and simple manner of living which accords with the real in-

appreciation of Gérard's conduct, voted, on September 3, to ask him to have his portrait painted by Charles W. Peale to be placed "in the Council Chamber of the United States," to recall the manner in which he had "uniformly, ably and zealously promoted the objects of the Alliance and the welfare of both nations," both before and since the Treaties with France. At the same time, Congress voted that a commemorative medal should be ordered by Franklin and presented to Gérard on his return. It further granted to him "a private audience, but in full Congress," for the purpose of receiving his farewell speech, on September 17, 1779; and it sent to the King the following letter of appreciation:[22]

Great, faithful and beloved friend and ally. The conduct of Your Majesty's Minister, the Sieur Gérard, during his residence in America, has been in every respect so commendable, that we cannot forbear testifying your Majesty our sense of his merit, without feeling that uneasiness which arises from a neglect of the obligation of justice. His behaviour appears to us to have been uniformly regulated by a devotion to your Majesty's dignity and interest and an adherence to the terms and principles of the Alliance, while at the same time he demonstrated his attachment to the honor and prosperity of these States.

Thus, serving his sovereign, he acquired our entire confidence and esteem and has evinced your Royal wisdom in selecting a person so properly qualified to be the first Minister sent to the United States of America.

That the Supreme Ruler of the Universe may bestow all happiness on your Majesty is the prayer of your faithful and affectionate friends and allies.

The enthusiasm for France continued strong in Philadelphia; and Robert Morris wrote to Benjamin Franklin: "I have a very particular satisfaction in assuring you that throughout this country a strong attachment to the French

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terest and policy of men struggling under every difficulty for the attainment of the most inestimable blessing of life, Liberty. The Chevalier was polite enough to approve my principle, and condescended to appear pleased with our Spartan living. In a word, he made us all exceedingly happy by his affability and good humor, while he remained in camp."

[22] On July 12, 1779, Gérard had another private audience with Congress sitting as a Committee of the Whole, "on business of great delicacy affecting the conduct of the war."

Nation is daily taking place of that blind partiality once felt for everything which had the name of English." [23] On November 2, 1781, after the surrender of Cornwallis on October 19, twenty-four British and Hessian regimental flags, captured at Yorktown, were carried in parade through the streets and taken to the east room in the State House, and, as the newspapers said, "there the hostile standards were laid at the feet of Congress and of his Excellency, the Ambassador of France." [24]

On November 27, 1781, the newspapers stated that "the inhabitants of this city were much pleased by the brilliant exhibition of a number of transparent scenes designed and executed by that very ingenious artist, Mr. Charles W. Peale, who had previously prepared them for the purpose of celebrating the arrival in this city of our illustrious Commander in Chief. During the whole evening the people were flocking from all parts of the town to obtain a sight of these beautiful expressions of Mr. Peale's respect and gratitude to the conquering hero." [25]

This extraordinary work of art was described as follows:

At the lower window, a ship with the British colors below the French, and the word *Cornwallis* on the stern, emblematical that by the assistance of the French fleet Cornwallis was captured.

At the middle window above, the portraits of his Excellency General Washington and Count Rochambeau, with rays of glory and interlaced with civic crowns over their heads, framed with

[23] *The Works of Benjamin Franklin* (1904), IX., letter of Dec. 5, 1781. Franklin wrote to Robert Livingston, March 4, 1782: "The constant harmony subsisting between the armies of the two Nations in America is a circumstance that has afforded me infinite pleasure. It should be carefully cultivated. I hope nothing will happen to disturb it. The French officers who have returned to France this winter speak of our people in the handsomest and kindest manner."

[24] Franklin wrote to John Jay, President of Congress, Oct. 4, 1779: "The sword ordered by Congress for the Marquis de Lafayette being at length finished, I sent it down to him at Havre where he was, with the troops intended for the invasion. I wrote a letter with it and received an answer, copies of which I enclose, together with a description of the sword and drawings of the works upon it, which was executed by the best artists in Paris, and cost altogether, two hundred guineas. The present has given him great pleasure and some of the circumstances have been agreeable to the Nation." See Vote of Congress, Oct. 21, 1778.

[25] *Freeman's Journal*, Dec. 12, 1781.

palm and laurel branches, and the words in transparent letters, *Shine, Valiant Chiefs;* the whole encircled with stars and flowers de luce.

At another window, the Temple of Independence. The words *Stamp Act, Duties on Tea, Boston Port Bill,* etc., as being the first cause of the structure. And the foundation of the building beginning with the words — *Lexington, Bunker Hill, Fort Moultrie, Trenton, Princeton, Germantown, Burgoyne, French Alliance, Monmouth, Stoney Point, King's Mountain, Cowpens, Eutaw, Cornwallis.* The first story of the building of Ionic order, on the base of which were these words. *By the Voice of the People,* which supported thirteen columns representing the States, supported by a frize on which were wrote *Illustrious Senators;* and on a pediment which covered the whole range of columns, were wrote: *Brave Soldiers,* with rays of light and support from the Senate; the pediment ornamented with. . . . statutes.

In May, 1782, the French Minister notified Congress that he wished to appear before that body. Congress may have thought, at first, that the long-due, royal portraits had at last arrived. But the Minister's errand was for another purpose — to present a communication from His Christian Majesty, conveying the joyful news of the birth of a son, the Dauphin of France, in the preceding October. This boy thus born to Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette was not the little ill-fated Dauphin of the Temple, Louis Charles, sometimes known as Louis XVII, but an elder brother who only lived seven years, dying in 1789 — Louis Charles not being born until 1785, and dying in 1795.

The proposed visit to Congress by the Minister again caused perturbation; and that body appointed a Committee, consisting of John Rutledge, Elias Boudinot and James Madison, to consider a report of the Secretary of Foreign Affairs "relative to the ceremonial on admitting the Minister to a public audience." This time, instead of sending two Members of Congress in a coach and six to bring the Minister from his house to the Hall, Congress adopted a formal resolve that "the Minister shall come in his own coach to the State-house, and shall be received at the foot of the steps by two Members of Congress deputed for that purpose, who shall conduct him to his seat in the room of Congress." The cere-

mony of delivery of his message was to follow that adopted in 1779; and at its close, "the President and Minister having bowed to each other, and the latter to the House who shall be standing to receive it, he shall be reconducted to the foot of the stairs of the State-house, in the same manner in which he came in." Congress also resolved that "the Secretary at War take orders to receive the Minister with military honor and to conclude the audience with the discharge of thirteen cannon and a *feu de joye* of musquetry, and for the display of fireworks in the evening at 8 o'clock;" also that under the direction of the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, "an entertainment be provided at the City Tavern for the Minister and his suite." [25a]

All this elaborate ceremonial was carried out on May 13, 1782; and a week later, Congress voted to send to the King the following letter drafted by the Secretary of Foreign Affairs:[26]

[25a] The manner of reception of foreign diplomats was interestingly commented upon by the French Minister, Comte de Moustier, on his arrival in 1788. He wrote: "The ceremony with respect to foreign Ministers has never been well regulated since the establishment of sovereignty of the United States. The reception of M. Gérard, the first man to appear as a diplomat, was attended with special marks of gratitude to the King and of gratification on the part of Congress. There was somewhat of a change in the manner of reception of M. le Chevalier de la Luzerne. Mr. Van Berckel, the Minister from the Netherlands, was received with almost the same ceremonies. There was a change for M. Gardoqui, whose letters from the King of Spain only gave him the title of Chargé d' Affaires. . . . The Resolves of Congress have differed on this subject as on others. Not seeing any fixed rule, therefore, I have informed Mr. Jay that I assumed that the manner of my reception would be similar to that of my predecessors." Comte de Montmorin, in his reply to this letter, stated that the ceremony was "a very exacting one, and very little like that which was the accepted rule in the Republican States of Europe." He also cautioned Moustier that Jay was somewhat ill-tempered, and "suspected of Anglomania or at least of little affection for France" and that Jay's predominant sentiment was jealousy of Franklin. See Correspondence of the Comte de Moustier, with the Comte de Montmorin, 1787–1789, *Amer. Hist. Rev.* (1908–09), VIII, IX, letters of Feb. 12, June 23, 1788.

[26] Robert Livingston wrote to Franklin, May 22, 1782: "You will also receive in the enclosed papers an account of the marks of respect with which the annunciation of the birth of the Dauphin was received. These are of some importance at a time when Great Britain is endeavoring to represent us as weary of the alliance, and anxiously wishing to return to our connection with them."

Franklin wrote to Robert Livingston, Aug. 12, 1782: "The letter to the King was well received; the accounts of your rejoicings on the news of the Dauphin's birth gave pleasure here."

The United States in Congress assembled, to their great, faithful, friend and ally, Lewis the Sixteenth, King of France and Navarre. Great, faithful and beloved friend and ally:

Among the many instances that divine Providence has given us of his favour, we number the blessings he has bestowed on your Majesty's family and kingdom. Nothing was wanting to the happiness of the first but a son to wear the honour which the father has earned; or to the prosperity of the latter, but the prospect of seeing the Crown transmitted to an heir, who would find in the example of his parent a powerful incitement to promote the happiness of his people. This example, we presume to hope, will also influence his future conduct towards these United States. When, in the history of the present day, he shall read your Majesty's generous interference in their behalf, that firm and affectionate attachment, and the blessings with which both were crowned, he will be studious to preserve to his Kingdom and these States the reciprocal advantages of the alliance which your Majesty has formed, and to emulate her ancestor in adding to their titles the glorious appellation of Protector of the Rights of Mankind. We receive with the most lively pleasure your Majesty's renewed professions of friendship. You will easily believe that the attachment which we have so often and so truly professed for your Majesty could suffer no diminution when every day afforded us new instances of your magnanimity, and your affectionate interference in our behalf.

Other official bodies through the country sent to the King similar effusive messages of congratulation on the birth of the Dauphin, of which that of the Pennsylvania Assembly is a fair example:

The Representatives of the freemen of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met, are extremely happy that

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Criticism of this enthusiasm for French manners and customs is found in a letter written from Philadelphia by Arthur Lee to James Warren, Dec. 12, 1782: "You wish to have some observations on the manners of this place. They are as little worthy of panygeric as an awkward imitation of the French can make them. Broke suddenly loose from the simplicity of Quaker manners, dress and fashions, and affecting the vanity and nonsense, if nothing worse, of French parade, you may conceive they are more fit subjects of ridicule than of admiration. Mr. Morris, Mr. Bingham, Mr. Ross and others, who have made large fortunes during this war, employ their wealth in a manner not very consistent with that unostentatious virtue, which ought to animate our infant Republic. Extravagance, ostentation and dissipation distinguish what are called the ladies of the first rank." *Warren-Adams Letters*, II.

their present early and unexpected session has given them an opportunity of joining their congratulations with those of Congress and their sister States upon the auspicious birth of a Dauphin of France. As friends to humanity, we could not help rejoicing on this event, which, by securing a direct succession, will more effectually preserve the tranquility and happiness of one of the greatest monarchies in the world. But we have other reasons for our joy on this occasion; we behold our illustrious and beloved ally made happy by this event; we behold a new pledge of the perpetuity of our alliance derived from it; and the royal father of the prince, we are confident, will not fail placing the advantage of that alliance, which we know to be the object of his affections, among the first principles of his son's education. We anticipate for our posterity his friendship and assistance, and we are confident, in return, the future resources and strength of our country will be exerted for his interest. Humanity, Sir, will have nothing to fear from the union of the forces of the two nations; for the principles of our alliance will be violated, should it ever be employed in any other way than in relieving and supporting the oppressed. In offering this testimony of respect, by your hands, to your illustrious Monarch, we should do violence to our feelings, if we neglected to acknowledge the pleasure and satisfaction we have derived from our observations of your conduct among us. Your polite attentions to all orders and conditions of the people, and above all your respect manifested upon all occasions to our civil institutions have rendered your person and character peculiarly dear to us; and we are happy in this opportunity of acknowledging the wisdom and friendship of his Most Christian Majesty in committing the care of the alliance to a Minister who has so faithfully and affectionately executed that high trust. By order of the House, Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, *Speaker.*

The Delegates in Congress from North Carolina, Hugh Williamson and William Blount, also sent an address of congratulation to the French Minister, in which they stated that the birth of the Dauphin had been "received with the most cordial pleasure by the citizens of North Carolina. It filled every countenance with joy, each heart with gladness, every man found himself personally concerned in an event which contributed so much to the happiness of a people they esteem and a monarch they will constantly revere." [27]

[27] *Pennsylvania Journal,* Aug. 25, 1782; *Pennsylvania Packet,* Aug. 29, 1782.

The Dauphin's birth was also celebrated by the French Minister himself, on July 15, 1782, in a superb entertainment which for magnificence could hardly be excelled today. This fête was elaborately described in all the Philadelphia newspapers, in such detail as to give rise to the suspicion that the news was supplied by the Minister himself for home consumption.[28] Fifteen hundred guests were specially invited from Pennsylvania and neighboring States, of whom seven hundred and fifty attended, including General Washington, the Comte de Rochambeau, Governors Moore, Dickinson and Livingston, and "a number of other very respectable persons." The celebration began with a Te Deum, at ten o'clock in the morning. At seven in the evening the guests assembled in a large building specially erected for the occasion, in the Minister's garden, consisting of a hall, 75 by 45 feet, with two colonnades or galleries profusely decorated with columns, statues, coats of arms, emblems and hieroglyphs (with, let it be noted, a sideboard at the end of each gallery), also a supper room, 90 by 40 feet, both rooms hung with glass chandeliers. "This splendid building," said the *Pennsylvania Packet,* "which was finished in less than six weeks, was the work of M. L'Enfant, a French officer in the service of the United States, whose talents for design and architecture and his facility for conceiving and executing plans the most extensive have marked and gained the applause of all connoisseurs." From half-past seven to nine in the evening, there was music; and an ode was presented "replete with patriotism and enthusiasm upon the birth of the Dauphin, composed by Mr. Smith, a young lawyer who displays a very great genius. A lady equally manifested her patriotism by a fine ode upon this event, but we are not authorized to give her name."

After the concert, there was a splendid display of fireworks and rockets:

After which, a general illumination succeeded, upon an amphitheatre erected in front of the hotel of the Minister and likewise

[28] *Pennsylvania Packet,* July 18, Aug. 1, 1782; *Freeman's Journal,* July 17, 1782; *Independent Gazetteer,* July 20, 1782; *Pennsylvania Journal,* July 17, 1782.

in the groves. At the same time began a very brilliant ball which continued till midnight; this was followed by a supper, served upon seven tables of eighty covers each. The ball was resumed after supper and lasted till 2 o'clock in the morning. The weather was extremely favorable during the entertainment, the night being calm and serene. The gentlemen and ladies who were invited have testified the greatest satisfaction, and the citizens in general who were present at the fireworks have shown equal pleasure. The presence of His Excellency General Washington and the Count Rochambeau rendered the entertainment as compleat as could possibly be wished. This brilliant scene received its principal embellishments from the presence of the ladies; few cities could exhibit more of the graces than appeared here. Notwithstanding the prodigious concourse of spectators (which have been estimated at about 12,000) and the great number of carriages, the whole was conducted so judiciously, and so many precautions used, that not a single accident occurred. The public are greatly indebted to a party of the Philadelphia militia who kept guard on the streets around the Minister's house, and a detachment of French troops who guarded within the inclosures, for the peace and good order so conspicuous during the whole evening. People who were on the roof of the State House say that nothing could equal the view that the commons covered with spectators, the hotel of France, the gardens and groves which were full of ladies and gentlemen walking about, presented, when this scene was lighted by the fireworks and lamps.

Another newspaper stated that:

A prodigious number of people resorted from all parts to this city and its neighborhood to testify the part they took in an event that has crowned the wishes of our august Ally. We shall give the particulars of this exhibition with so much the more satisfaction as they afford a fresh proof of the harmony and good understanding between the two nations whom mutual interest binds and the most sincere sentiments of friendship have united forever.

And another said:

The engaging manner of the Minister, the judiciousness of the directions, and the satisfaction and joy that diffused itself on every countenance manifesting the unfeigned zeal of every guest in support of our Alliance on this pleasing occasion, and the affability and decorum of all, rendered it the most agreeable and delightful entertainment ever seen or exhibited in this continent.

A month after this magnificent entertainment, Philadelphians modestly retorted by celebrating, in honor of France, the Anniversary of St. Louis, on August the twenty-fifth, by hoisting the State flag on Market Street wharf, and by an assembly of militia officers, "at Mr. Burns' tavern, where the evening was spent in a patriotic manner," as reported in the newspapers.[29] Charles Willson Peale also took the occasion to exhibit at his house more of his "new and beautiful" transparent paintings. These artistic productions, now vanished, were described as follows:

1. The portraits of the King and Queen of France, a crown over their heads, with an eye of Providence bearing a ray of glory on each of the portraits, and these words underneath *Friends to Mankind.*
2. The Marquis de la Fayette, with the colours of France and America, interlaced and other military trophies with a laurel crown over his head, and the words, *He bled in our Cause when we had no Ally* (referring to his wound in the Battle of Brandywine).

Congress also gave a practical illustration of acknowledgment of its debt to France, by voting on September 3, 1782, to authorize the Agent of Marine in New England to present the Ship *America* of 74 guns "for the service of his Most Christian Majesty," in order to replace the French ship *Magnifique* of 74 guns which had been lost by accident in Boston Harbor, "Congress being desirous of testifying upon this occasion to his Majesty the sense they have of the generous efforts made by his Majesty in favour of the United States."[30]

It was not until March 28, 1784, that the long-overdue portraits of the King and Queen, so warmly asked for by Congress in 1779, finally arrived in Philadelphia. Their advent was described in the newspapers as follows:

[29] *Freeman's Journal,* Wednesday, Aug. 28, 1782.

[30] *The Writings of James Madison,* I., see Madison to Edmund Randolph, Sept. 3, 10, 1782: "The loss of the French 74 in Boston Harbour presented an occasion which was embraced by Congress of making a small requital to their Ally for his benevolent exertions in behalf of the United States. . . . The *States* were unanimous in this vote. The dissenting members were [Theodoric] Bland and [Joseph] Jones of Virginia."

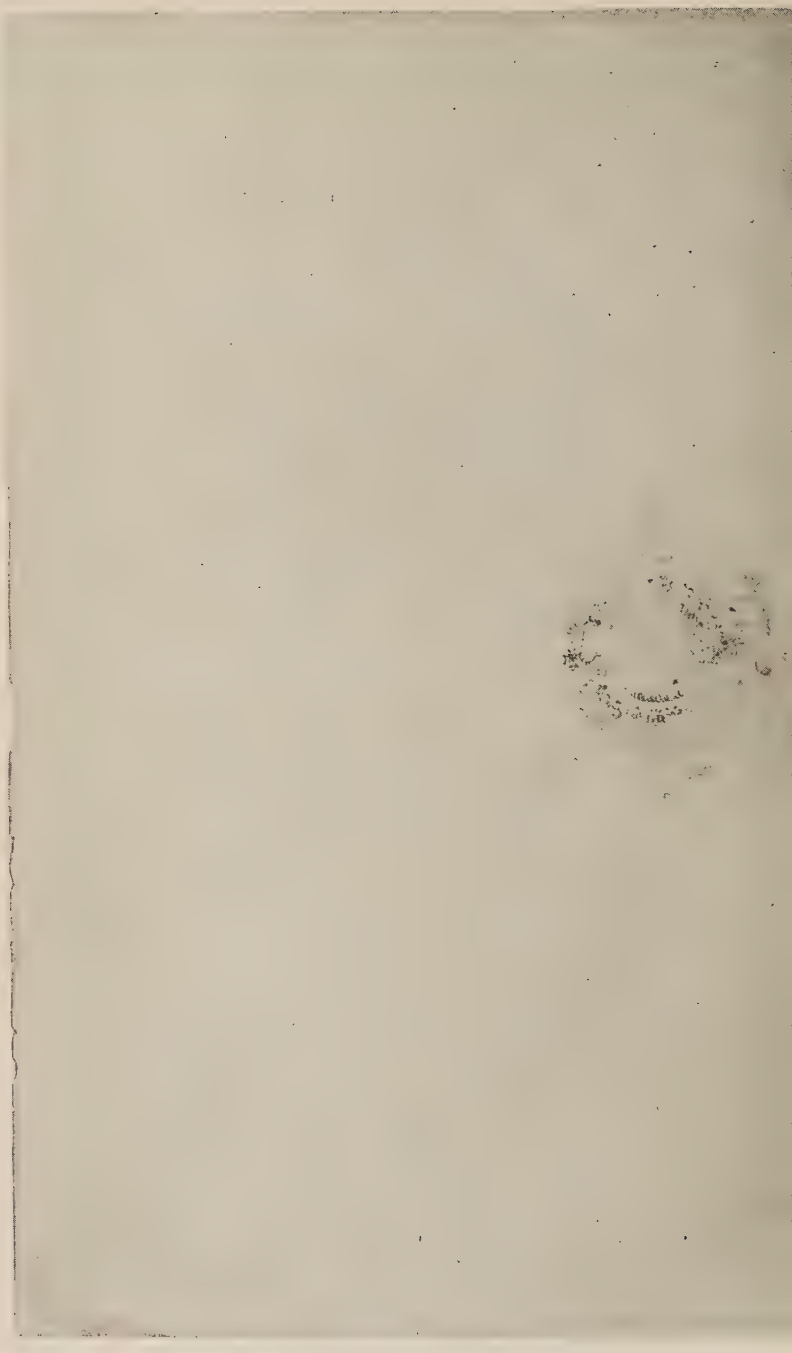
Saturday last, arrived in this port on board the ship *Queen of France* the pictures of their most Christian Majesties, the King and Queen. They are in full length. The King, in garments like those he wore on the day of his coronation. The royal throne is on his left side, decorated with the attributes of justice, as marks of the disposition of our great ally; he holds the ancient sceptre of France in his hand, and the crown with the hand of justice lie on a cushion on his right. This is said by the connoisseurs to be a masterly piece of the art of painting. The Queen is dressed in a royal mantle spread with fleur de luce, and a gown of sattin trimmed with golden fringes and tassels; on a table lies her crown, next to a vase filled with flowers. The table is covered with red velvet, embroidered with the Imperial Eagle of her family. Each picture is about thirteen feet six inches high, including the frames.[31]

When these pictures arrived in Philadelphia, the room in the State House in which they were to have been hung was no longer the home of Congress; for, in the preceding year, on June 21, 1783, Congress, disturbed by the importunities of the Pennsylvania militia, had shaken the dust of Philadelphia and had adjourned to Princeton. From there, it had moved to Annapolis where it was then sitting, without having any fixed or permanent abiding place. Hence, the pictures remained at the house of the French Minister, where the editor of the *Pennsylvania Journal,* in June, 1784, was admitted to see them, "but it was hinted to him that they would not be exposed to public view until some time when they will be disposed in better order, and the frames put on them."[32]

The Philadelphians, in spite of the absence of Congress, did not forget to celebrate the royal Ally of the United States; and accordingly, on May 1, a dinner was given by the Sons of St. Tammany, at which, after toasting St. Tammany and the United States, the next toast was "Louis XVI, the Defender of the Rights of Mankind, May the people be as happy as he is great and good." After marching to the house of Robert Morris where General Washington was staying they

[31] *Independent Gazetteer,* Saturday, April 3, 1784; *Pennsylvania Packet,* Thursday, April 1, 1784.

[32] *Pennsylvania Journal,* June 21, 1784. In *Pennsylvania Packet,* June 24, 1784, there is an address of a Committee of Merchants to the French Minister on his approaching departure for France.



Mes très chers Grands
Parents et Alliés les Membres
Du Congrès Général des
Etats-Unis de l'Amérique septentrionale

Signed in 1783
due to the Signals of Peace and the
Authority of King Louis XVI

Très chers Grands Amis

16 juin 1779. le desir d'avoir notre portrait et
le Chev.r de la Luzerne de Vous les présenter de notre p
perpétuel de l'affection que Nous Vous portons
sentimens sont le principe de l'interêt que nou
et du plaisir avec le quel nous Saisirons tou
Sur ce Nous prions Dieu qu'il vous ait
Tout à Versailles le 15 Aout 1783.

Votre bon ami
et Allié
Louis

Gravier De Vergenn

Aux Etats Unis.

Allies Vous nous avés témoigné par votre lettre du
la Reine notre très chere Epouse. Nous chargeons
nous ne doutons pas que vous ne les regardiés comme un gage
si que de la constance de votre amitié pour nous. Ce
serons jamais de prendre à votre bonheur et à votre prosperité
s occasions de vous en donner de nouvelles preuves
ès chers Grands Amis et Alliés en sa sainte digne garde

gave thirteen cheers and thirteen cannon shots, and then marched to the house of the French Minister and gave him seven cheers. "May every future Tammany's day be spent with equal bliss and harmony," said the editor who reported the meeting.[33]

Meanwhile, however, Congress, sitting in Annapolis, acknowledged to the King of France the receipt of his gift, by passing the following Resolve, on April 16, 1784: [34]

The Minister Plenipotentiary of France having on the 6th transmitted to Congress a letter dated 13th August 1783, from his most Christian Majesty, in answer to their letter of the 15th June, 1779, and accompanies the same with a memorial informing Congress that the portraits of the King and Queen are arrived at Philadelphia; that he has orders to present them to this Assembly, and has taken the measures necessary for their safe keeping until Congress shall be ready to receive them; the said letter and memorial were referred to the consideration of a committee.

On the report of a committee consisting of Mr. Gerry, Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Read to whom were referred the letter of the 13th of August from his Most Christian Majesty and the memorial from the honorable the Minister Plenipotentiary of France.

Resolved that the following letter be signed by the President on behalf of the United States in Congress assembled, and transmitted to his Most Christian Majesty, in answer to his letter accompanying the portraits of his Majesty and his royal consort which he has been pleased to present to Congress.

"Great, Faithful and Beloved Friend and Ally: Your Majesty's letter of the 13th of August last has been received by the United States in Congress assembled with a degree of satisfaction and pleasure which those only can conceive, who, to the highest sentiments of respect, unite feelings of the most affectionate friendship.

"The portraits of your Majesty and of your royal consort having arrived at Philadelphia, have been carefully preserved by your faithful Minister, the Chevalier de la Luzerne, whose attention in this, as on all other occasions, merits the acknowledgments of Congress.

"These lively representations of our august and most beloved friends will be placed in our Council Chamber; and can never fail

[33] *Independent Gazetteer,* May 8, 1784.

[34] *Secret Journals of Congress,* April 16, 1784; *Pennsylvania Packet,* June 12, 1784.

of exciting in the mind of every American an admiration of the distinguished virtue and accomplishments of the royal originals. We beseech the Supreme Ruler of the Universe constantly to keep your Majesty and your royal consort in his holy protection and to render the blessings of your administration as extensive as the objects of your Majesty's benevolent principles."

Congress also complimented the French Minister, by passing a further Resolve: " that the President inform the honourable the Minister of France that Congress have a due sense of the care he has taken for preserving the portraits; and are desirous they may continue in his possession until proper places can be provided for them."

As Congress never returned to Philadelphia, the portraits remained with the Minister until they evidently became an annoyance. Finally, when Congress was sitting in the City Hall in New York, it passed the following Resolve on February 11, 1785:

On the report of a Committee, consisting of Mr. Gerry, Mr. Ellery and Mr. Williamson, to whom was referred a letter of 29th December last from Mr. de Marbois to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Resolved that the Secretary for Foreign Affairs give orders for a careful removal of the portraits of his Most Christian Majesty and of the Queen of France from Philadelphia to the hall in this city, in which Congress holds their sessions.

In 1788 Col. John May visited the City Hall and wrote in his *Journeys to the Ohio Country:*

The greatest curiosities in the Congress Chamber were pictures of their Majesties the King and Queen of France; their appearance was truly elegant and noble. No painting can excel these. The frames that contain the pictures are magnificent — twelve feet high by about six wide — superbly grand. But the Hall is not high enough to receive their crowns (perhaps a presage of their doom)."

When the First Congress met under the Constitution in April, 1789, in the new Federal Hall in New York, the portraits presumably followed it there. At all events, when the Congress went back to Philadelphia in 1791, back also went the portraits; and there we catch an interesting glimpse of

them in the Senate Room, through an entry in the *Diary* of William Maclay, Senator from Pennsylvania. In a debate on "our relations with France," on February 26, 1791, Maclay had vigorously defended France "that now vilified nation" against a violent attack by Oliver Ellsworth; and, said he, "I have ever thought that a liberal and manly policy, being most conformable to the genius of the people, was the surest method of engaging and preserving the esteem of that magnanimous nation." He pointed out that, in 1783, "language labored and seemed to fail, in expression of gratitude to our ally. If right then, we must be wrong now." And then Maclay added, in his *Diary:* "I recollected that I had the volume of Congress of 1783, which I had looked up for this occasion, before my seat, where the greatest encomiums were bestowed on the French. . . . I happened to turn around, and the full length portrait of the King and Queen of France caught my eye. I really seemed to think they would upbraid me if I was silent." [35]

Apparently, the portraits were not very carefully tended in the Senate room, for their condition was commented on in a letter to the *Independent Gazetteer,* in 1792, as follows:[36]

> Mr. Editor. In every company where public affairs is the subject of conversation, I hear continually, 'the doors of the Senate Room should be open.' I am of a different opinion. I think it would be very imprudent to open the doors, before the pictures representing the pitiful Louis XVI and the plotting Marie Antoinetta, with the dust on them, are removed; the motion in the House will occasion the dust to fly through the room, and, if the public were admitted, it would give the Patriots a dreadful cough, and throw those of the opposite party into a deep decay. While I am mindful of the health of the Nation, I won't hide my name — JACK BLUNDER.

In 1796, Adet, the Minister of the French Republic, saw the portraits hanging on the walls of the Senate, and he resented the presence of such traces of royalty in the legislative hall of a sister Republic. He was the more incensed, because when, on January 1, he had presented to the United States a flag of the French Republic, President Washington

[35] *Sketches of Debates in the First Senate of the United States.*
[36] See *Norwich Packet,* Nov. 29, 1792.

had said that it would be "deposited in the archives of the United States; that is to say," wrote Adet to the Committee of Public Safety in Paris, "it will be concealed in a miserable barn and destined to become the food of mice and insects. . . . I am deeply chagrined at this affront which the Executive has put upon the French Republic. . . . I expected to see the flag placed in the hall of the Senate. How could I have ever thought that American Senators would have so little shame as to spurn this mark of friendship given by a Republican People and that they would prefer to preserve in their hall pictures (of Louis Capet and Antoinette of Austria) which are no longer objects of respect or cherished anywhere except in the camps of Charette and of Condé." [36a]

When Congress established itself in the new Capitol in Washington in 1800, the portraits travelled thither; and they were noted in the Senate Room by the wife of the architect of the Capitol, Mrs. William Thornton, who attended to hear President Adams deliver his Annual Address, and who entered in her diary, November 22, 1800:[37]

> Cold and cloudy. Had the carriage and went about eleven o'clock to the Capitol to hear the President make his speech to both Houses; there were a great many people, the Galleries were full; the Ladies sat and stood below on the same floor as the Senate, etc. It was made in the Senate Chamber, and the whole appearance was solemn and conducted with order. The pictures of the late King and Queen of France are hung up in the Senate Room.

At this time, the portraits could not have made a very enthusiastic appeal to Americans; for, only six months before, the Supreme Court of the United States had held that, in 1799, the United States was in a state of "imperfect war" with France, "a qualified state of hostility" and that France was a "partial enemy";[38] and George Washington, as Lieutenant General of the armies of the United States, had spoken on accepting his appointment, July 13, 1798, of the "insidious

[36a] *Correspondence of the French Ministers to the United States* 1791–1797, ed. by Frederick J. Turner, *Amer. Hist. Ass. Rep.* (1903), II, letter of Jan. 16, 1796 (26 Nivose, 4th year of the Republic).

[37] *Diary of Mrs. William Thornton* in *Columbia Historical Society Records* (1907), X.

[38] Bas *v.* Tingy (1800), 4 Dallas 37.

hostility" of the Directorate of France; "their disregard of solemn treaties and the laws of nations, their war upon our defenseless commerce, their treatment of our minister of peace."

Twelve years later, the portraits were seen by an English traveller, John Neilson, who described the Senate Chamber as "an elegant apartment with handsome furniture; it is adorned with full length portraits of the late unfortunate King and Queen of France."[39]

By the year 1813, some members of the Senate had apparently lost enthusiasm for the royal portraits for a motion was made that "the President and Directors of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts be and they are hereby authorized to cause to be removed from the Capitol at the City of Washington and placed in said Academy, the portraits of the late King and Queen of France and subject to any future disposition thereof by Congress."

This motion was lost; but another motion, made by Rufus King of New York, that the portraits be placed in one of the Senate Committee rooms was carried; and from the wording of this motion, it appears that the portraits had already been removed from the walls of the Senate into some other place:[40]

> Ordered that the Sergeant at Arms be and he is hereby directed to remove the portraits of the King and Queen of France from the apartment in which they are now placed, and to put them up in one of the committee rooms of the Senate, causing the portraits to be first cleaned and repaired by a person skilful in such business.

With this motion, all further official reference to the portraits ceases, and no mention of them is to be found in the Journals of either House or Senate, or in the *Annals of Congress* or in the *Congressional Globe*. In fact, the accepted

[39] *Travels in the United States* (1812), by John Neilson.

[40] *13th Cong., 1st Sess.*, in the Senate, July 19, 20, 27, 31, Aug. 1, pp. 59, 60, 70, 81, 82. David Baillie Warden in his *Statistical Description of the District of Columbia*, which was published in Paris in 1816, but which must describe the Senate Chamber prior to the above motion in 1813, wrote as to the Capitol: "The North wing, which contains the Senate Chamber, has the form of a segment, with a double arched dome and Ionic pillars. It is adorned with portraits of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette."

belief among historians was that they were destroyed when the Capitol was set on fire by the British in 1814.

In 1911, however, a paper was delivered before the Columbia Historical Society in Washington, in which a letter was cited, written by David Cooke, a merchant of Philadelphia, to his wife, June 20, 1842; and in this letter, reference was made to the fact that, long after the War of 1812, the portraits of the King and Queen had been hanging in the Rotunda of the Capitol, and that apparently shortly before 1842, they had been removed from the walls of the Rotunda.[41] Mr. Cooke wrote:

> The rotunda is an attractive place being a perfect circle ninety feet in diameter, having a splendid dome which rises one hundred feet above the floor with large skylights on the top — and is adorned by means of the painters' and sculptors' art. . . . They have removed the much-admired and full length likeness of the murdered King and Queen of France. They have removed the large paintings representing many figures of the first white settlers and the aboriginals engaged in desperate rencounters and sanguinary combat, some expiring while the bloody affray was going on at a time when the land here and around was the Indians' hunting grounds, and now there is to be seen five splendid paintings, each one about twenty feet square.

No entry in any record, paper or Journal of the Senate or of the House explains when or why the portraits were hung in the Rotunda or why or when they were displaced.[42] (Inci-

[41] *Columbia Historical Society Reports* (1911), XIV. Elliot's *Washington Guide,* issued in 1837, makes no mention of the portraits, which must have been removed before he wrote. The word used at the time was *Rotondo,* but that is not recognized in our dictionaries.

[42] It may be noted that a resolve was passed in the House, May 28, 1838, as follows: " Resolved that the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds be instructed to inquire into the expediency of causing a full length portrait of each President of the United States to be executed by an American artist and placed in the Presidential Mansion; also to inquire into the expediency of procuring busts of each of said Presidents to be placed in a suitable apartment within the Capitol; and also to inquire into the expediency of designating a suitable apartment in the Capitol or other fireproof public buildings in which to deposit the flags and trophies captured from enemies, together with any valuable relics belonging to the General Government, or presents received from foreign Governments or individuals." But no further action as to the " suitable apartment " seems to have taken place. *25th Cong., 2d Sess.*

dentally, nothing remains now to identify these paintings of the "bloody affray" with the Indians, for they also do not seem to be in existence in Washington.)

We are left entirely to surmise. One reason for their removal may well have been the fact that, by the late 1830's, Congress had become a very censorious critic of art. Possibly its experience with the decorations of the Capitol in the form of paintings and sculpture up to that time, warranted a somewhat captious spirit. Its first animadversions had been directed at the well-known Trumbull paintings.

In 1817, a resolution was introduced in the Senate to employ Col. John Trumbull, the artist, "to compose and execute a painting commemorative of the Declaration of Independence." This was amended so as to authorize "the execution of four pictures of the principal events of the Revolutionary history." It passed the Senate, and also the House; but in the latter body there was a vigorous debate, which was reported in the *Annals of Congress* as "interesting, amusing and instructive."[43] The object of the resolution was opposed by Messrs. John Forsyth of Georgia, George Robertson and Benjamin Hardin of Kentucky and John W. Taylor of New York, and advocated by John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, John C. Wright of Ohio, Joseph Hopkinson of Pennsylvania, William Henry Harrison of Ohio, John Randolph and Hugh Nelson of Virginia, and Thomas P. Grosvenor of New York. The *Annals* state that: "The talents of the artists were acknowledged on all hands and the excellence of these paintings exhibited as the models from which the large paintings are to be taken, was generally admitted. But, in opposition to the resolution, a variety of arguments were urged by different gentlemen, such as, that it was questionable how far it was just or proper for the Government of the United States to become the patron of the fine arts; that if it were to do so, no such expense ought to be authorized until the faith of the Government was redeemed by the fulfillment of all its pecuniary obligations, nor until every debt was paid arising out of the war of the Revolution, or of the late war; that a nation, like individuals, should be just before it was generous, that

[43] *14th Cong., 2d Sess.*, in the Senate, Jan. 13, 16, 20, 21, 1817, pp. 64, 69, 77, 79; in the House, Jan. 27, 1817, pp. 761 et seq.

the subjects of the paintings, not being particularized, they might not be such as Congress would approve; that to authorize these paintings for the decoration of the Capitol, before it could be known whether they could be properly displayed there, would be to act like the Vicar of Wakefield's family, who were grouped in a picture so large that, when it was brought home, the house would not hold it; that generally, in the countries where they had been brought to the highest perfection, paintings and statuary in commemoration of liberty and of great events had no perceptible effect in preserving the liberty and independence of those nations, and the rights and liberties of this nation depended on no such paltry considerations as these." [44]

As a work of art, Trumbull's painting at once became the subject of severe criticism. An English traveller, in 1819, wrote this comment on the painting of the Declaration of Independence: "I cannot help thinking that the painter might have selected a more interesting period of time in this great transaction. . . . The great object has been to get together into one group the portraits of those self-devoted men who were the principal actors in this event, but in this, the result is really calculated, by its total want of epic grandeur, to remind us somewhat of the Vicar of Wakefield's family picture . . . all as demure as if they had been associated to attend a funeral." [45] In 1825, John Holmes of

[44] Following the vote of Congress, a contract was made with Trumbull for four pictures to fill four of the panels in the Rotunda. Trumbull was to receive $800 on execution of the contract, and $6000 additional for each picture. The form of the contract was somewhat remarkable, as it provided only for four pictures of a certain size, and with no detailed specification as to subject. In 1819, when the first picture — the Signing of the Declaration of Independence — was ready for delivery, the contract was severely attacked, Livermore of New Hampshire saying, in the House, that it was an extraordinary document "which bargained for a picture by the yard or by the acre." *15th Cong., 2d Sess.*, Feb. 9, 1819, pp. 1142 et seq.; see also John P. Hale, in the Senate, Feb. 16, 1860: "I recollect, sir, an old gentleman who used to represent my State in some of the early Congresses stated that the order for filling up the panels of the Rotunda that was done by Trumbull, was done by ordering certain pictures so many feet long and so many feet wide; that was the only direction given that certain dimensions should be painted to fill up those places, and he remarked 'this is hiring painting to be done by the acre,' and that was literally so." *36th Cong., 1st Sess.*

[45] *Travels through part of the United States and Canada in 1818 and 1819* (1823), by John M. Duncan.

Maine said in the Senate that Congress had been "abominably taken in" by Trumbull's paintings which had cost $32,000 and which "were not worth 32 cents. . . . The last painting commemorative of the resignation of General Washington," he said, "was a piece of the most solemn daubing he ever saw. The event it was intended to commemorate was one of the most sublime incidents that ever took place in the country. But what do you see in this picture? Why, a man looking like a little ensign, with a roll of paper in his hand like an old newspaper, appearing as if he was saying, 'Here, take it — I don't want to give it up.'" [46] In 1828, John Randolph of Virginia, discussing art in the Capitol, said that "he disclaimed a disposition to say anything to wound the feelings of anyone — of an artist particularly, because artists are probably *genus irritabile,* because genius is easily excited," but, he said, "he hardly ever passed through without feeling ashamed of the state of the arts in this country. . . . In his opinion, the picture of the Declaration of Independence ought to be called the Shin-piece, for surely never was there before such a collection of legs submitted to the eyes of man. . . . He might be disposed to support a proposition for the further decoration of the Rotundo, if it would not make the room more of a nuisance than the utmost efforts of architecture had already been able to make of it." [47] In 1834, Henry A. Wise of Virginia, in the House, criticised the Trumbull paintings saying that "the faces in the one are the faces of all four, and all the faces in the same piece have all the same characteristics." [48]

There were other works of art in the Capitol which were subjected to bitter criticism. In 1826, Samuel D. Ingham of Pennsylvania said in the House, "that he had noticed on the walls of the Rotundo, certain carvings in stone; and among them, the commencement of a design which he understood to be intended to represent the treaty made by William Penn. He was persuaded that no person could cast his eye on the figure intended for that great and venerable person and not turn away in disgust. To see a character, so eminent for the

[46] *18th Cong., 2d Sess.,* Feb. 18, 1825, p. 625.
[47] *20th Cong., 1st Sess.,* in the House, Jan. 9, 1828, pp. 942, 954.
[48] *23d Cong., 2d Sess.,* Dec. 15, 1834, p. 791.

principles of peace and so distinguished by his opposition to everything in the shape of military employment, portrayed as himself, wearing a sort of military uniform, with a large cocked hat upon his head, could produce nothing but surprise and disgust. He had always heard and read that William Penn was a portly figure with rather a commanding and dignified appearance, but the figure here sculptured was a dwarf and his appearance more ludicrous than anything else. Nor could any descendant of the Pilgrims look on the female figure in another compartment of the same room, and be told it was meant to represent one of those who landed at Plymouth, and not feel an emotion of indignation. He wished to know if these pieces of sculpture were to be left in their present state or were to be removed." Edward Everett of Massachusetts said that he agreed "in the opinion expressed by the gentleman from Pennsylvania, as to these pieces of carving — he was as much mortified as that gentleman at their appearance, and would be as glad to get rid of them; but poor as they would be, he thought that, if finished, they would not present so great a blemish as if left in their present situation." [49]

In 1836, there was warm animadversion on a "colossal" bronze statue of Thomas Jefferson, which the House had accepted as a gift to the Nation, and had located in the centre of the Rotunda, but which the Senate had refused. In a debate in the Senate, in 1836, as to the removal of this statue, William C. Preston of South Carolina said that it "had got there by some means or other *per fas aut nefas*," and that it resembled "all the trash that cumbered and disgraced the walls of the Rotundo." . . . The public halls had been disgraced with exhibitions purporting to be of the fine arts, utterly offensive to the public taste, absurd in design and wretched in execution." [50] Nor was Congress much

[49] *19th Cong., 1st Sess.*, in the House, May 17, 1826, p. 2657.

[50] *23d Cong., 1st Sess.*, in the House, March 25, June 27, 1834. Edward Everett of Massachusetts moved that the statue be placed in the plaza east of the Capitol. W. S. Archer of Virginia opposed acceptance of any statue until after Congress had done its duty by erecting a statue of Washington; he also said that "he had learned that this statue of Jefferson was not of that finished order which, if a statue was to be put at all in the grounds of the Capitol, it ought to be." See also *23d Cong., 2d Sess.*, in the House,

better pleased with the statue which replaced that of Jefferson in the Rotunda, in 1841 — the semi-nude statue of Washington executed by Horatio Greenough;[1] for Congress, within a year after its erection, ordered it removed to the plaza, east of the Capitol, where it remained until 1908 when it was sent to the Smithsonian Institution.

Moreover, there had long been a general disapprobation of the uses, artistic and otherwise, to which the Rotunda had been put — a disapproval which had been voiced in the House in 1827, by John Forsyth of Georgia, as follows: "No gentlemen," he said, "could walk through the Capitol without disgust. Those who have been residents of the City for three or four winters past, could not have forgotten the strange uses to which the rotunda has been applied. It became first a great showshop for the exhibition of Panoramas where gentlemen could have, for half a dollar a head, view of the City of Paris from the top of the Tuilleries, with the Palace Garden under his feet, the Façade of the Luxemburg, the Garden rambles, the Hall of Legislation, the Churches, the river Seine, the Pont Neuf, etc., etc. Then came the view of the Garden of Versailles with its alleys and fountains and the Emperor Alexander walking in state, and by way of contrast an American gentleman leaning in state. . . . To members of Congress, it was particularly convenient to pass in the twinkling of an eye from the full debate to the centre of gay Paris and attractive Versailles." He then proceeded to describe other strange ways in which the Rotunda had been utilized:

The room was next converted into a great exhibition hall for domestic manufactures. In order to establish the superiority of our domestic manufactures, they were collected, at least choice speci-

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Feb. 17, 1835, p. 1402; *24th Cong., 1st Sess.*, in the Senate, April 28, 1836, pp. 1314 et seq.

[1] *27th Cong., 1st Sess.*, in the House, Aug. 13, 19, 27, 1841, pp. 333, 352, 390; in the Senate, Aug. 28, Sept. 2, 1841, pp. 395, 420. This statue had been authorized by Joint Resolution of Congress, Feb. 13, 1832, see also Joint Resolution of May 27, 1840. $6500 was paid to Greenough, $8600 for freight and detention of ship, and for an iron railing, $5000 for removal from the Navy Yard and erection in the Rotunda.

See also *27th Cong., 2d Sess.*, in the Senate, Dec. 22, 28, 1841, pp. 48, 65, 74; April 30, 1842, p. 460.

mens of them, in the vast space; and in order to give the domestic articles a decided preference, all foreign articles were carefully excluded. There was a rare show indeed of articles of first necessity, essential to our independence; triangles of steel to be struck by careful and musical housewives in place of ringing vulgar bells for their servants; stoves and stewpans; pianos on which the initiated young ladies played for the gratification of the gaping throng; mousetraps and watchribbons. An exhibition only was advertised, but all the articles were carefully marked with prices, and sundry good bargains were driven by the domestic manufacturers, and the spectators. . . . During the visit of our veteran General, our friend, the friend of mankind, Lafayette, some one proposed to the Members of Congress to give him a great ball in the Rotundo. . . . We gave a dinner, not a ball — thank Heaven the Rotundo was not the banquetting room. . . . He (Forsyth) was not disposed to censure the proposition to dance in the Rotundo; it would have been quite as proper and innocent, and as defensible as the previous uses made of the same place. In fact, a great deal could have been said in its favor. The music would have sounded merrily under the splendid vault; and what a charming space for belles and beaux to thread the mazes of the cotillion and to twine together the magic circles of the seducing waltz, no treading upon toes or tearing of frills to be apprehended. Although the dancing proposition was not adopted, the Rotundo has ever since been devoted to the purposes of exhibition.

"Has any one a picture to exhibit, it is hung on the wall," Forsyth concluded. "Has any one a model of a machine to show, it is spread out on the floor, and whether for shelling corn, peeling apples or cutting up snags and swayers in the Mississippi, it is duly set in motion for the instruction of the curious."

Possibly a second reason for the removal of the French portraits was the fact that, in addition to its critical attitude towards art in general in the Capitol, Congress was especially critical of foreign art and artists. Art, it claimed, should be purely American. An illustration of its attitude is to be found in the speech of a Representative from Ohio, who stated that he was desirous that these structures should be substantially made, and also "that they should be adorned and beautiful, so far as may be consistent with what ought to belong to our republican character," but that he was opposed

to appropriations "lavished to provide decorations and trappings and gewgaws for the purpose of emulating the magnificence of royalty in the autocratic governments of the Old World. Such things are not congenial to republicanism." [2] That American art should only be "congenial to republicanism" was a favorite theory of our Congressional art critics. A Virginia Congressman, a few years earlier, had propounded the theory that the experience of mankind showed that "those periods of the world when painting and sculpture were at their highest point of perfection were not the periods of its proudest character. In Rome, so long as the Republic lasted, painting and sculpture were comparatively little known, and even the Greeks who excelled them most in both, after they had carried these arts to perfection, were conquered by the Romans, and the Romans when they learned them were conquered in their turn." [3]

This attitude of hundred per cent Americanism had been strikingly shown in a debate, in 1834, over the employment of four native artists to fill the four vacant panels in the Rotunda. This debate was a sequel to that which had been precipitated by James Hamilton of South Carolina, when, at the outset of the heated Presidential campaign of Andrew Jackson in 1828, he had introduced a bill to provide that a picture of the Battle of New Orleans be painted for the Rotunda, by Washington Allston.[4] The plan thus to single out Jackson for glorification in the Rotunda had been frustrated by the manœuvres of Edward Everett of Massachusetts and other northern political opponents of Jackson, who loaded down the bill with amendments calling for pictures of almost every other American battle, military and naval; and Hamilton was correct in his complaint, that his measure had been defeated by "suffocation and strangulation by amendments" and "broken down by the weight which was ungenerously put upon its back." Six years later, in the middle of Jackson's presidential term, the proposal for a painting

[2] *34th Cong., 1st Sess.*, App., p. 619, Edward Bell of Ohio in the House, May 26, 1856, Mr. Bell (p. 623) termed the statuary in the Capitol as "marble toggery."

[3] *23d Cong., 2d Sess.*, John S. Barbour, in the House, Dec. 15, 1834.

[4] *20th Cong., 1st Sess.*, in the House, Jan. 2, 8, 9, 1828; *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, VII. 399.

of the Battle of New Orleans was renewed as a part of a bill introduced to have the Rotunda further decorated with four historical paintings by four American artists.[5] On this bill, Tristam Burges of Rhode Island, precipitated a furious discussion in the House, by stating that he "doubted whether there were so many artists who were competent to adorn the Capitol," and he said that "he was not such an admirer of democracy as to divide these works of art upon agrarian principles." To this, Henry A. Wise, of Virginia, made reply that this country "is not only the richest in the fine arts now, but is the richest country in the world in historical events for the pencil of the painter." Allston, he said, "is the finest historical painter; Sully, the finest portrait painter; and Greenough, the finest sculptor in the world." Aaron Ward of New York said that he was "proud to know that there were many American artists fully competent to this task" — Sully, Allston, Vanderlyn, Morse, Chapman, Wier, Peale, Leslie, Trumbull, Osgood, and many others.

Again, this bill for American art failed to pass; but in 1836, the proposal was successful when a Joint Resolution was adopted providing that: "A joint committee be appointed to contract with one or more competent American artists for the execution of four historical pictures upon subjects serving to illustrate the discovery of America; the settlement of the United States; the history of the Revolution; or of the adoption of the Constitution; to be placed in the vacant panels of the Rotunda; the subjects to be left to the choice of artists under the control of the committee."[6]

One other reason for the removal of the portraits may be surmised. It is to be recalled that only a few years before 1842, namely in 1834 and 1835, this country had been dangerously near a war with France, owing to President Jackson's indignation at the failure of the French Assembly to pay the debt owed by France, under the treaty of July 4, 1831, settling our long-overdue claims against France. In his Annual Message to Congress, Jackson had said: "Peace and friendly intercourse with all nations are as much the desire of our

[5] *23d Cong., 2d Sess.*, in the House, Dec. 15, 1834, pp. 791 et seq.
[6] *25th Cong., 1st Sess.*, Joint Resolution of June 23, 1836.

government as they are the interests of our people. But these objects are not to be permanently secured by surrendering the rights of our citizens, or permitting solemn treaties for their indemnity in cases of flagrant wrongs, to be abrogated or set aside." Finally, in 1836, the refractory French Assembly yielded; the claims were paid; and cordial relations were again officially established. But it may well be that Congress for some years did not retain any great enthusiasm for France or for a French King or his pictorial representation.

Whatever the reason was for the removal of the portraits — whether it was artistic, or patriotic, or political — the action of Congress was certainly most effective. For from that time to this, no printed reference has been found of them; and, so far as I am aware, no one today knows whether they are in existence, or, if so, where they are located. I, personally, and through various officials, have made search in the Capitol, without success. The idea occurred to me that they might have been transferred to the Smithsonian Institution, on its foundation in 1846; but officials of that Institution inform me that they have no record of any such portraits. A Washington antiquarian interested in the subject stated to the Assistant Secretary of the National Museum, in 1910, that there was a tale current that, at some time after 1842, the portraits were hanging in the dining room of the old Ebbitt House, in Washington; and a friend of mine has written to me that portraits appearing to be those of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette were hanging there about 1900;[7] but I have not been able to find any such portraits now, or to identify those so reported, as being the portraits in question.

Finally, it occurred to me that there was a possibility that the portraits had been placed in the old Library of Congress, which before the Civil War occupied the quarters in the Capitol now used by the Clerk of the Supreme Court. A fire occurred in that Library, in 1851, and it seemed possible that

[7] The antiquarian was Thomas Forsythe Nelson of Washington. He stated to the Assistant Secretary, R. Rathbun, that he had made some investigations and believed the pictures were painted by LeClerc (probably Jacques Sébastien LeClerc, born in 1714, died in 1785).

they might have been thus destroyed. But an article in a Washington newspaper describing this fire enumerated the principal pictures burnt, as follows:[8]

A fire broke out in the Library of Congress yesterday at about a quarter to 8 o'clock and about 35,000 volumes of most choice and valuable books were destroyed (out of a total of 55,000 volumes) together with precious collections of manuscripts, paintings, maps, charts, medals, statuary and articles of vertu, the property of the Government and people of the United States. The origin of the fire is enveloped in mystery which we hardly think will ever be cleared up. . . . Besides the number of books, a number of superior paintings, hanging around the Library walls and between the alcoves were included in the destruction. Of these, we can call to mind Stuart's paintings of the first five Presidents;[9] an original portrait of Columbus, a second portrait of Columbus;[10] and an original portrait of Peyton Randolph;[11] a portrait of Bolivar; a portrait of Baron Steuben by Pyne, an English artist of merit; one of Baron de Kalb; one of Cortez; and one of Judge Harrison of Maryland, presented to the Library by his family.

No mention is here made of the portraits of the King and Queen; and as they must have been of considerable prominence, each being thirteen feet high, it is unlikely that there would have been a failure to mention them, if they had hung in the Library and been destroyed.

[8] *National Intelligencer,* Dec. 25, 1851.

[9] On motion of Caleb Cushing of Massachusetts, in the House, Jan. 9, 1838, the Committee on the Library was instructed: "to enquire into the expediency of purchasing a series of portraits of the first five Presidents of the United States painted by the late Gilbert Stuart, for the purpose of having the same suitably placed and preserved either in the Capitol or in the Executive Mansion." On Feb. 6, 1838, the matter was referred to a Special Committee and Cushing said that "on investigation it would be found that no more appropriate ornament could be placed in the Executive Mansion than these admitted portraits of our early Presidents from the pencil of so eminent an American artist." *25th Cong., 2. Sess.*

[10] See *18th Cong., 1st Sess.,* in the House, Jan. 2, 1824, p. 81, reference to a portrait of Columbus "by the same hand which painted the celebrated one in the Escurial;" see also *ibid,* March, 29, 1824, p. 431. See *27th Cong., 2d Sess.,* in the House, June 1, 1842, p. 563, for reference to the Committee on the Library of a gift by Arthur Middleton, of Charleston, of a portrait of Columbus, made for him in Madrid.

[11] On March 2, 1839, the House voted to place in the Library of Congress, the portrait of Peyton Randolph presented by Richard Randolph, Sept. 30, 1837.

Thus we come back to the query with which this paper began: What has become of the portraits of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette belonging to Congress?

Mr. Norcross communicated the following letter from

James Warren to Elbridge Gerry.[1]

Milton, Feby. 25th, 1784.

My Dear Sir, — My Conscience by severely reproaching my Indolence has at last roused me to Action, and dictated to me in a Strong light my Negligence. it tells me that I have not wrote to you for many weeks. I see the fault and the folly of this Indolent Neglect and Friendship and Wisdom unite in my repentance and Amendment. The Consequence is this Letter which, if it gives you no pleasure, may Engage your Candor and forgiveness.

My last was principally on the subject of an Intended resignation or at least a pretended one,[2] but for your Comfort and Consolation I have the pleasure to Inform you, that we hear no more of it. we may still be happy in the possession of a Chief Magistrate, whose place could not be supplyed by another and whose Virtues and Merits are of such an Extraordinary kind that no Conduct of his own can sully them with ridicule or Contempt.

The General Court has set for some Weeks without my being able to Inform you what they have done of a public and Important Nature. Except the Choice of Mr. Dana in the room of Judge S[ulliva]n as a delegate to Congress. Good Providence takes care of us and this is an Instance of it. A more fortunate Event than the resignation could not have taken place and a more Judicious Choice could not have been made to fill the Vacancy. Mr. Dana dined with me lately and will soon be with you unless prevented by an Adjournment of Congress. When he stands upon your floor as an Independent Member, his Abilities and rectitude may give honest Men pleasure while they detect the Malice and Corruption and Excite the Shame of the servile, if there should be any such among you. I received your Letter of 19th Decr. and am pleased to find you had such Expectations of a free and Independent Congress. I have done your several Messages. they thank you for your attention. My Son[3] goes for Europe in a few weeks and proposes to set down in Lisbon, and will be happy to be honoured

[1] From the collection of Stephen W. Phillips, of Salem.

[2] Of John Hancock. See *Warren-Adams Letters*, II. 236.

[3] Winslow Warren.

with the Commands of Congress. An Adjournment of Congress, if the Committee behave well, will certainly add to their dignity and consequently be a public Advantage. I presume your final determination with regard to Consuls must have been formed and probably your Elections made before now. I wish to know why the Commercial Treaty with Britain is suspended. if the delay is occasioned by want of Instructions from Congress how has that happened? is it not a Misfortune that it should be delayed till disputes and prejudices have time to operate, and rancle? are not Treaties to be made with Denmark, Portugal, the two Empires, with Morocco, Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli? and if made with them, and perhaps with Sardinia and Naples, is it to be left with a Single Commissioner, as that with Sweden was, while the others are in Europe and might be Engaged in the Business much to our Advantage without any Additional Expense? for my own part I freely own I shall be sorry to see the Extensive Management of these great matters in the hands of a Single Man which if not grown feeble by age may have become suspicious from worse excesses.[4] Penobscot is Evacuated. after desireing our Government to send a Commission to receive the delivery of the place and waiting in vain for some Months they went of *san Cérémonie* after Burning the Barricades and some of the Houses. I think they did right, for why should they leave them standing if we cared Nothing about them? we have had what we call a tight Winter and been continually tortured with Cold. I hope you have Enjoyed the sweet Temperature of a Southern Climate. My Compliments to my Friends Major Osgood and Mr. Partridge [5] and also to Doctr. Lee.[6] I will write him soon. in the meantime am not Inattentive to his Business without being able yet to get it Effected. there seems to be some fatality or strange Inattention in the Conduct of it. Mrs. Warren desires her Compliments to you. I am with great Sincerity Your Friend and Humbl Servt

J. Warren.

I had forgot to tell you that by some Inadvertency in Mr. Thaxter I have never recd the strictures you mention.[7] I have however seen one and have the pleasure to tell you they have a good Effect here. People are Justly Alarmed at the Cunning deep laid plan.

[4] Franklin.

[5] Samuel Osgood (1748–1813) and George Partridge (1740–1828), of the Massachusetts delegation, Continental Congress.

[6] Arthur Lee, of Virginia.

[7] Probably the Society of the Cincinnati, which had just been vigorously attacked by Ædanus Burke, of South Carolina.

It is a subject of general Conversation and Execration without a Single Exception, where neither Interest or Expectation are Engaged. I think it must be given up or reduced to a Simple Benificent Standard.

Dr. FARLOW read the following note on

SIR KENELM DIGBY AND HIS CURE OF WOUNDS BY THE POWDER OF SYMPATHY.

At the last meeting of the Society, Mr. Ford read a paper on the exploits of Sir Kenelm Digby in the Levant and his career as a corsair in the vessel which afterward served, under the name of the *Arbella,* to bring the Winthrop colonists to Massachusetts-Bay in 1630. He referred also to the connection of Digby with the Powder of Sympathy, which is now, perhaps, remembered almost as much as his piratical adventures. Mr. Ford has asked me to say a few words about this wonderful powder.

It was not an original discovery of Digby's, but was confided to him by a Carmelite monk in Florence, who learned of it in Persia or India. At first the monk refused to divulge the nature of the powder, but after some kindness on the part of Digby, consented to tell him. Shortly afterward the monk returned to Persia, leaving Digby the sole possessor of the secret in Europe. After using the powder with success for twenty years or so, he revealed its nature in an address delivered in Montpellier, France, in 1658 before a society of lords and learned men. The address was entitled: *Discourse on the Cure of Wounds by the Powder of Sympathy.* It was translated from French into English and published the same year, and not long after it appeared in German and Dutch, in several editions.[8]

[8] It is stated on the title of the first London issue of *A Late Discourse* that it was "translated out of French into English." This first edition was registered at Stationers' Hall, May 6, 1658, by Richard Lowndes and Thomas Davies. A second edition, enlarged, appeared in the same year, a third in 1660, and a fourth in 1664. But the British Museum and Bibliothèque Nationale have Editions printed at Paris — *Discours fait en une célèbre Assemblée* — in 1658, 1660, 1666 and 1681 and the Museum catalogue states that the first issue was "translated from the English." Digby's word for the assembly at Montpellier and a discourse actually delivered before it, is open

The *Discourse* was based on the alleged case of a Mr. James Howell, a noted English writer, friend of Digby and favorite of King James I. About 1624 two friends of Howell fighting a duel, he arrived in time to try to separate them, and in doing so was severely cut in the hand by a sword. The wound bled profusely, and the King, hearing of it, sent his surgeon, who dressed the wound. After a while, Howell complained of pain and swelling of the parts and seemed not to be progressing well; in consequence, Digby was called in on account of the great reputation of his powder. He took a basin of water and dissolved in it a handful of the powder and into the solution he put the blood-stained garter which had been used in the first dressing of the wound. Although Howell was in an entirely different part of the room and out of sight of Digby, he soon said that he felt no pain. Digby advised him to cut off the plasters and merely keep the wound clean. Somewhat later, Digby took the garter out of the water, when Howell's servant came hurriedly, saying that his master felt as much pain as ever. The garter was again put back in the water and again the pain ceased. The powder did not come in contact with the patient but only with articles stained with his blood. The same would happen in the case of a sword which had inflicted the wound; the powder would then be rubbed on the blade of the sword previously greased.

The basin with the soiled garter was kept in a closet in the day-time and at night in the chimney corner, so that the blood on the garter might always be in a good natural temperament, neither too hot nor too cold. If put in a cold room, or if the water became cold or froze, the patient immediately felt cold in the wound and was affected unfavorably. In preparing the powder, it was first dissolved in water and afterward recrystallized, or calcined, in the sun. Its potency was due to the fact that the sun's rays extracted the spirits of

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to suspicion. A German translation by M. A. Hupka was printed at Frankfort, 1560, an error for 1660, and again in 1671. At Rouen French versions were published in 1660 and 1673, and Amsterdam printed two Latin translations in 1660, 1661 and 1662. A sixth edition of the *Discours* in French appeared at The Hague in 1700 and a seventh in 1715. As recently as 1895 it was included in "Librairie Spiritualiste."

A LATE DISCOURSE

Made in a Solemne Assembly of Nobles and Learned Men at *Montpellier* in *France*,

By Sr. *Kenelme Digby*, Knight, &c

Touching the Cure of Wounds by the *Powder of Sympathy*; With Instructions how to make the said Powder; whereby many other Secrets of Nature are unfolded.

Fœlix qui potuit Rerum *cognoscere* causas.

Rendered faithfully out of French into English
By *R. White*, *Gent.*

The third Edition corrected and augmented, with the addition of an Index.

LONDON, Printed for *R. Lowndes* at the *White Lion*, and *T. Davies* at the *Bible* in S. *Pauls* Church-yard, over against the little North-Door, 1660.

the blood and the powder, while at the same time the heat of the wound caused the healing principle thus produced to be attracted by means of a current of air — a sort of wireless therapy. The King and the Court were greatly impressed by the wonders of the treatment and its successful outcome, and Digby's fame was widespread in consequence.

What was this wonderful powder? It was nothing but green vitriol, or sulphate of iron, as told by him in his Montpellier discourse, after it had been in occasional use for perhaps twenty years or more. What sort of a man was he; was he honest but self-deceived, or was he a rank charlatan? John Evelyn, who knew him, said he was an arrant mountebank, and Henry Stubbs called him the "very Pliny of our age for lying." Such epithets should hardly be used without taking into consideration the state of medical knowledge at that time, nearly three hundred years ago. Superstition, mysticism, so-called philosophy, were then associated with medical theories and practice, and the number of secret, and hence infallible, remedies was countless. It was not till the secret was disclosed that the remedy lost its charm.

Fortunately for the patients, the vitriol of Digby could do no harm, quite unlike the great majority of secret medicines, which are usually intended for internal use; and although the powder was recommended only for wounds, it was used in such a manner as not to interfere with their healing. According to Dr. Bostock, in his *Elements of Physiology,* 1824: "Everyone who is acquainted with the history of surgery knows of the sympathetic powder which, about the middle of the 17th century, engaged the notice and received the sanction of the most learned men of the age. The celebrated remedy derived its virtues not from its composition but from the mode of its application, for it was not to be applied to the wound, but to the weapon by which the wound was inflicted; the wound was ordered to be merely closed up and was taken no further care of. Most men of sense, indeed, ridiculed the proposals, but after being well tried, it was found that the sympathetic mode was more successful than those plans on more scientific principles, and it continued to gain ground until some innovator ventured to try the experiment of closing up the wound without applying the powder

to the sword." Wiseman, the noted English surgeon, a contemporary of Digby, in describing the importance of keeping the divided parts in apposition says: "for here nature will act her part, by the application of blood and nourishment to both sides indifferently, and finish the coalities without your further assistance; and this is what gives such credit to the sympathetic powder."

The practice of the sympathetic cure was considered in its day a marvel. Even the poets gave a taste for it, combining as it did the faculty of imagination with the field of fact. In the "Enchanted Island," Dryden makes Ariel give as a direction for treating a wound:

> Anoint the sword which pierced him with this
> Weapon salve, and wrap it close from air,
> Till I have time to visit it again.

And in another passage he makes believe that the wounded were conscious of the dressing of the weapon; that pain in the wound occurred when the sword was unwrapped, and relief when it was re-dressed and covered from the cold air. There is probably no question but what the vicarious treatment gave the patients a certain amount of hope and encouragement and kept them from interfering with their wounds.

The writer who treated of Digby in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, S. L. Lee [Sir Sidney Lee?], doubts the story that Digby told of the powder:

> There is no evidence that Bacon knew of it, or that it was applied to Howell's wound, or that Digby had learned it at so early a date as the reign of James I. In his treatise "Of Bodies" (1644) he makes the vaguest reference to it, and in 1651 Nathaniel Higham, M.D., appended to his "History of Generation" (dedicated to Robert Boyle) "a discourse of the cure of wounds by sympathy," in which he attributes the dissemination of the remedy to Sir Gilbert Talbot, speaks of the powder as "Talbot's powder," and ignores Digby's claim to it, although in the earlier pages of his work he repeatedly refers to Digby's investigations, and criticises his theory of generation. Digby's originality is thus very questionable. After 1658 his name is very frequently associated with "the powder of sympathy." In an advertisement appended by the bookseller, Nathaniel Brookes, to "Wit and Drollery" (1661) it is stated that

Sir Kenelm Digby's powder is capable of curing "green wounds," and the toothache, and is to be purchased at Brookes's shop in Cornhill. George Hartmann, who described himself as Digby's steward and laboratory assistant, published after Digby's death two quack-medical volumes purporting to be accounts of Digby's experiments, "Choice and Experimental Receipts in Physick and Chirurgery" (1668) and "Chymical Secrets and Rare Experiments in Physick and Philosophy" (1683); the latter concludes with an elaborate recipe for the manufacture of Digby's powder (see Pettigrew, *Medical Superstitions,* 156).

Digby was an able man, learned in many directions; a member of scientific societies, a friend of Harvey, who discovered the circulation of the blood, the author of a criticism of Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici,* and although not a medical man, was prone to speculate and philosophize on medical and allied subjects. To refer to one of his well known superstitions, his cure for warts: "Wash your hands in an empty basin into which the moon shines." Is this any worse than the belief in the aura or the ectoplasm by some of the scientific men of the twentieth century?

Mr. Banks offers the following document[1] giving further information on

Thomas Morton of Merry Mount

To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty,

Humbly Complaining sheweth unto your most Excellent Majestie your true loyall and obedient subject Thomas Morton late of New England in America gent That whereas one Christopher Brodripp of Axbridge in the County of Somerset gent in or about the yeare of our Lord God 1624 was indebted unto your said subject in the some of eight pounds and your said subject being then minded to travaile and to make a Voyage into New England aforesaid which he shortly after performed your said subject had some conference with one Oliver Powell of Axbridge aforesaid yeoman about the said debt who seemed to be well acquainted with the said Christopher Brodripp and did know how the said debt of eight pounds became due to your said subject, unto whom

[1] Court of Requests. Charles I. Bundle XXXVII, Part III. 1636. See *Proceedings,* lviii. 147.

the Said Oliver Powell protested much love and promised that in the absence of your said subject he would use meanes to recover the same if he might have authoritie from your subject to receave it And your said subject reposing trust and confidence in the fidelity and integrity of the said Oliver Powell upon his protestacons aforesaid; he your said subject gave authority unto the said Oliver Powell whereby to call upon the said Christopher Brodripp for the said debt of eight pounds and to receave the same to your subjects use which the said Oliver Powell did accordingly call for and did receave the said eight pounds to the use of your said subject in his absence, who continued in New England aforesaid by the space of nine or tenne yeares after the said Oliver had so receaved the same. And your said subject further sheweth that the said Oliver Powell hath ever since the receipt thereof converted the same to his owne use and hath taken and receaved all the benefitt, profitt and advantage that was made by the use and imployment of the said eight pounds, without any accompt rendered to your said subject for the same, or any part thereof And your subject hath been informed hath made unto himselfe very greate gaine by way of trading therewith these twelve yeares, in such Kinde of commodities as he hath dealt in within the Towne of Axbridge aforesaid where he hath continued tradeing as a shoppkeeper; which imployment of the said eight pounds, in the absence of your said Subject and while he so lived in the parts beyond the seas your said subject was well contented with, being in good hope not only to have the said eight pounds principall mony paid unto him upon his retorne, but also some reasonable allowance for the forbearance and use thereof which the said Oliver promised and hath continued in his hands now by the space of twelve yeares at the least. And your said subject being of late enforced from those forraigne parts by the mallitious practice of the separatists there that have seized and taken away all the meanes that your subject was possessed of in those parts And being in good hope to find the said Oliver Powell as reddy to dischardge the trust as to undertake the trust aforesaid concerning the said debt of eight pounds, your said subject since his arrivall into England of late repaired to Axbridge unto him the said Oliver Powell nothing doubting but that the said eight pounds would have been paid him upon the first demands with some reasonable allowance for the use of it [for] so long tyme; But contrarywise and contrary to the trust aforesaid so it is may it please your most excellent Majestie that your said subject found the said Oliver Powell not minded to part with a penny thereof if he could otherwise chuse

Notwithstanding the benefit that he knoweth he hath made by the use and imployment of the said eight pounds in the absence of your said subject And the said Oliver having understood how spightfully the separatists had handled your subject and that they have taken from him amongst other things of your subjects a writeing purporting the trust aforesaid and supposing that it would be work enough now for your subject to pursue his complaint against them in your Majesties Courts of Justice ordained for remedy in such cases, and that a suite against him in this case would be neglected for the while. And the said Oliver Powell being a Bayliff Itinerando and a man that is practised in such devises as have made him covetous and unconscionable he the said Oliver Powell slighteth your said subject demaunding but what is his due, and will not now be perswaded by anie faire meanes to pay the said eight pounds to your subject nor any part thereof much lesse any allowance for the use thereof, although in friendly manner he hath thereunto been often required, and the rather because your said subject hath noe remedy by the strickt Rules of the Common Lawes of England for the recovery thereof which the said Oliver Powell presumeth upon and by the evill incouragment of some subtile person or persons such as are envious towards your said subject and such as use to make no conscience of detaining any thing of this kinde he the said Oliver Powell is become altogether unwilling to make payment thereof without suite of lawe, which is contrary to the trust aforesaid and contrary to Equity and good conscience.

In tender consideracon whereof may it please your Most Excellent Majestie to grant unto your said subject your Majesty's most gratious writt of Privy Seale unto the said Oliver Powell to be directed thereby straightly chardging and commanding him at a certaine day and under a certaine paine therein to be expressed personally to be and appeare before your Majestie and your Counsell in your Court of Whitehall at Westminster then and there to make answere unto the premises and to set forth upon his oath whether he were not trusted by your said subject to receave the said viij *li* of the said Christopher Brodripp as due to your said subject, and by what authority he receaved the same and how long it is since he so receaued the same and whether he be not a Bayliff itinerando. And whether he doth not beleeve or hath heard that your said subject about twelve yeares since departed out of this Realme of England, and travelled unto New England in the parts beyond the seas and whether he hath not heard of the unsufferall abuses that have been offered and done to him by the

Brownists of New England and that they deprived your subject of all that he was possessed of in those parts, goods monies and writeings and whether or noe your said subject since his arrivall into England hath not demanded the said viij *li* of him the said Oliver Powell. And also to shew cause wherefore he should not pay the said viij *li* to your said subject together with some reasonable allowance for the forbearance and use of it which he hath had these 12 yeares at the least. And further to stand to and abide all such orders and direccons, touching the premisses as your Majestie and the Counsell at the said Court shall seeme to stand with Equity and Justice And your said subject as by duety bound shall dayly pray to God for your Majesties long happy and prosperous Raigne. Jurat 21 June 12 Charles I [21 June, 1636.]

Nathan Dane to Nathaniel Gorham [1]

New York, June 22, 1787.

Dear Sir, — the inclosed paper I believe contains all that has been done of any importance by the General Court during their present Session. I imagine the Yeas and nays as they stand on the resolve of the 13th are true evidence of the disposition of the House; those in the negative argued that the troops were unnecessary — probably they thought so; but I think you will not be at a loss to discover the principle on which they acted and formed their Opinions when you shall cast your eye upon the accurate division of *men,* men on the one hand that have been for years steady in support of Government, etc; on the other men who for years have opposed taxes, proposed paper money, tender laws, etc.

Dr. Holten has arrived, and I wish the officers of Congress and members not engaged in the Convention would return to New York. I do not know how it may be in the Southern States, but, I assure you, the present State of Congress has a very disagreeable effect in the Eastern States. The people hear of a convention in Philadelphia, and that Congress is done sitting, etc. Many of them are told, it seems, that Congress will never meet again probably. Dr. H[olten] says he saw several sober men who had got an idea that the people were to be called on to take arms to carry into effect immediately the report of the Convention, etc. I see no help for men's being so absurd and distracted; but those things have a pernicious effect on the in industry, peace, and

[1] From the Washburn Autographs, 010.7, f. 15.

habits of the people. Are not the printers imprudent to publish so many contradictory pieces about the proceedings of your body which must be mere conjecture? You know many people always believe all they see in the newspapers without the least examination. It appears to me that Congress, at this time especially, ought to be together and doing business as usual and if we mean to avoid convulsions those appearances which to the unthinking look so much like abandoning the established Government ought not to be suffered to take place. To be here idle in the present situation of things is become extremely painful and I hope you will [exert] your influence with Mr. Meredith Hawkins, etc., etc., to return to Congress. Your affectionate friend

N. Dane.

Robert Morris to Thomas Fitzsimons [2]

July 10th, 1798.

Dear Sir, — I would have replied to your note of the 7th but on Sunday and yesterday I was not well. I am better today.

Mr. Hill must have the Carpet at his price and the Clock on his terms, but the time of redemption of the latter must be as long as you can obtain. any expence he is at to put and keep it in tune must be his. You will let me know the time fixed for redemption of the Clock. it should be not less than one Year — as many more as you can get. suppose you propose three. I will get the list made that you propose, altho if you had money I would rather the Devil had the things. I am, Dr. Sir, yours etc.

Robt. Morris.

[2] From the Mrs. Grenville Temple Winthrop Collection, 46, 45.

DECEMBER MEETING.

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, December 10, 1925, at 3 P.M., President MOORE in the chair.

The record of the November meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From the Estate of Artemas Ward, of New York, through Mr. Charles Martyn, the Artemas Ward papers, volumes III and IV, April 19, 1775, to August 21, 1777.

From Roger L. Scaife, the account book kept by his great-grandfather Charles Sprague for his firm of [William H.] Callendar and Sprague, grocers, from April 2, 1810, to Feb. 23, 1813. Mr. Sprague was a member of this Society from 1862 to 1875.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From Miss Theodora Willard, of Cambridge, by deposit, an oil portrait of Rev. Samuel Willard, 1640–1707, copied by William Willard from the original in the Harvard Union, Cambridge.

From Mrs. Kingswell Marrs a photograph of Augustus Saint Gaudens given by him to her in 1905; and a framed silhouette of Cynthia Dunbar wife of John Thoreau, which formerly belonged to Miss Mary Moody Emerson of Concord.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that a letter had been received from Colonel Charles Edward Banks, M.D., accepting resident membership in the Society.

Senator Albert J. Beveridge, a Corresponding Member, addressed the Society upon "The Mind of the South before the War of Secession." Remarks upon the address were made by Professor Morison, Mr. Storey, General Schaff and Mr. Dana.

Mr. LANE read a paper on

GOVERNOR GERRY'S LATIN SPEECH, 1810.

Mr. Norcross recently acquired and has now given to the Harvard Library to be placed in the University Archives the manuscript of Governor Gerry's Latin speech at the inauguration of President Kirkland on November 14, 1810. So far as I know its text has not been preserved in print. Down to the inauguration of President Hill in 1862 the Governor of the Commonwealth, as the presiding officer of the Overseers, was naturally the person to play the principal part in the inauguration of a President. Throughout the first two hundred and fifty years of the life of the College Latin was its official language. The Triennial and Quinquennial Catalogues were in Latin down to 1885, Latin was the language used in conducting Commencement and in conferring degrees until 1896 when President Eliot used English for the first time, and Latin still persists as the language of the Commencement programme and of the Salutatory Oration on Commencement day. The Governor was accordingly expected to address the company in Latin at the inauguration of a President, but Governor Levi Lincoln was the last to do so, when he presided at the inauguration of President Quincy in 1829. Since then the vernacular has been used, though it is yet the custom to have a Latin oration pronounced, as at Commencement, by a Senior or by some recent graduate who may be supposed to be near enough to his College disciplines to be still able to use the ancient tongue.

In 1810, Elbridge Gerry was Governor and it is his original MS. which I have brought to this meeting. Born in 1744 he graduated from Harvard College in 1765, and beginning with the year 1773, when he was elected a representative to the General Court from his native town, Marblehead, he was almost continuously in public life, always a distinct force and a controlling influence. The central figure in the ceremony of inauguration was the new President, the Reverend John Thornton Kirkland, a graduate of the College in the class of 1789, who had been pastor of the New South Church in Summer Street for sixteen years (since February, 1794). Lowell gives a delightful picture of him

in his *Cambridge Thirty Years Ago:* "an anachronism fitter to have been Abbot of Fountain's or Bishop Golias', courtier and priest, humorist and lord spiritual, all in one, than for the mastership of a provincial college, which combined with its purely scholastic functions, those of accountant and chief of police. . . . A man of genius that evaded utilization. He never encountered, one would say, the attraction proper to draw out his native force. Certainly, few men who impressed others so strongly, and of whom so many good things are remembered left less behind them to justify contemporay estimates." He presided over the College for more than seventeen years, exceeded in length of service by Holyoke and Willard alone among his predecessors.[1]

The other participants in the inauguration were the Rev. John Lathrop, pastor of the Old North Church and later of the Second Church, a Fellow of the Corporation from 1778 to 1815 and Secretary of the Board of Overseers from 1804 to 1816; Samuel Cooper Thacher, the Librarian, who had graduated at the head of his class six years before and so was judged fit to deliver the Latin Oration; [2] Nathaniel Langdon Frothingham of the Senior class, afterwards to be Instructor in Rhetoric and Oratory in the College, 1812–1815, and pastor of the First Church in Boston, also Horace Cullen Story of the Senior class and Adam Lewis Bingaman the First scholar of the Junior class, authors respectively of a Greek and a Latin ode recited in the afternoon. On the platform among the invited guests were the Lieutenant Governor, William Gray, and John Adams, ex-President, now in his seventy-sixth year. Among the members of the Senior class in the audience were doubtless Thomas Greaves Cary, Edward Everett, John Hay Farnham and John Calley Gray, all, with N. L. Frothingham already mentioned, to become members of this Society, besides Samuel Gilman, Samuel Calley Gray, Clarke Gayton Pickman, John White Webster and others, later prominent in one way and another in Boston affairs.

[1] A picture of his later years is given in *Correspondence of William Hickling Prescott,* 1833–1847, 64, 82.

[2] He succeeded Dr. Kirkland the following year in the pastorate of the New South Church.

One wonders why Everett, who stands as the first scholar, though the youngest member of the Class, had no part, *ex officio* as it were, in the inauguration. Perhaps his standing, in comparison with that of Frothingham, was not yet clearly manifest. In later years, as Mr. Paul R. Frothingham records, he wrote, Frothingham "greatly excelled me in speaking, and was in everything an accomplished scholar."[3] At Commencement in 1811, Everett gave the Valedictory English Oration and Frothingham an oration "On the Cultivation of the Taste and the Imagination." Frothingham also wrote a hymn for the occasion and Everett a song to be sung by the Class.

A lively picture of the occasion is set before us by the records of the Corporation and by one of the Boston papers.

In the Corporation Records for November 14, 1810 (College Records, x. 1–2), after a statement of the order of procession from Harvard Hall, we read:

> Having arrived at the Meeting House, the Students opening to the right and left, the Company entered. The Exercises commenced with an introductory address and prayer by the Revd. Dr. Lathrop, the oldest clerical member of the Corporation from the pulpit; the President elect being seated on the stage which was prepared as on Commencement Day. His Excellency Elbridge Gerry the Governour made an address in Latin followed by the ceremonials of Induction, in which the Governour announced the Revd. John Thornton Kirkland President of the University; presented him the Charter of the College, the College Seal, the Keys of the Halls and the Robes of office, and concluded by affectionate and respectful greetings and kind wishes. The President was then invested with the Robes, being the usual black silk Gown and Academic Hat, by the Librarian. After which he replied in Latin to the address of the Governour, and ascended to the pulpit and took the Chair. A Latin Oration having been pronounced by Mr. Samuel Cooper Thacher, the Librarian, the Revd. President delivered the inaugural Discourse in English which was followed by an English Poem by Nathaniel Langdon Frothingham Senior Sophister and the forenoon Services closed with an Anthem by the Students.
>
> The Company and two of the Classes of Students dined in the Halls [Harvard Hall], the other two dined at Mr. Porter's. At

[3] Frothingham, *Edward Everett*, 1925, 12, 14.

the end of the dinner in the Hall, a Greek Ode was spoken by Horace C. Story a Senior Sophister and a Latin Ode by Adam L. Bingaman a Junior Sophister. The day was observed as a festival in the University. In the Evening the Students gave a Ball at Porter's Hall, and the Buildings of the University were illuminated.

An English translation of Bingaman's Ode is preserved in Harvard College Papers, VI. 69.

The *Boston Gazette* of November 15 gives additional details:

Yesterday the induction of the Rev. John Thornton Kirkland, DD., LLD. to the office of President of Harvard University, was performed with great magnificence, order, and ceremony. The accession of so distinguished a divine and eminent a scholar, to this important station, may be considered an event equally to be appreciated by the public at large, and by the University, of which he has the immediate superintendance.

In the forenoon at 11 o'clock, a Procession was formed from Harvard Hall to the Meeting-House in the most appropriate order.

The performances in the Meeting House, were commenced by an introductory Address and Prayer by the Rev. Dr. Lathrop, which were uttered with great solemnity and devotion; these were succeeded by a Latin Address from His Excellency Gov. Gerry, during which the ceremonial of inducting the new President was performed; — he received the Charter and Insignia of the University from the hands of His Excellency, and was invested with his Robes of office by the Librarian. — The reply of the President to the Address of the Governor, was considered to indicate a copious fund of latinity, and was uttered with great force of emphasis, and animation of delivery.

An Oration in Latin, by Mr. Samuel Thacher, the Librarian of the College, followed (after a piece of music had been performed by the students) in which the graces of classical erudition, and pure latinity, rarely to be found, were united with singular felicity in delivery.

President Kirkland, in his *Inaugural Address*, in English, which was then pronounced, after enumerating a number of personal reasons which had conspired to prevent the production of a finished discourse upon the occasion, discussed the subject of liberal education, its character, its uses, and its means, in a manner, which did equal credit to his understanding as a scholar, and to his knowledge of the peculiar duties of his station. The close of

the address was rendered singularly impressive by his handsome allusions to the two last Presidents of the University,[4] the appropriate appeals to his own situation, and the students' emulation and good conduct.

An occasional Poem, in English, by Nathaniel Frothingham, Sen. Sophister, exhibited not only a very chaste and elegant specimen of composition; but an elocution, as far as we can recollect, though somewhat deficient in animation, without example within the walls of the University.

An Anthem by the Students, sung with pathos and warmth, closed the performances of the morning.

A Greek Ode by Horace C. Story, Senior Sophister, and *A Latin Ode* by Adam L. Bingham [Bingaman], Junior Sophister, comprised the performances of the afternoon.

In the evening a splendid ball, and the illumination of the College buildings, closed the celebration of a ceremony, which from its immediate consequences, and its permanent effects will swell the reputation of Harvard College, and transmit it to succeeding generations.

To return now to the Governor's manuscript: at the top of the page, above what was designed to be the opening sentence of the Latin speech, the Governor has written out, with many erasures and interlineations, the following note addressed to a Committee of the Overseers.

The request of a copy of my official performance at the induction of President Kirkland was unexpected, but proceeding from the supreme Government of the University whom I highly respect, annexed is the compliance. Yours respectfully

E. GERRY.

The Reverend Doctor Holmes, Honble. Judge Dawes and Honble. B. Pickman, Jr. } Committee of the Honble and Revd. Overseers of Harvard College

CAMBRIDGE, Nov. 1810.

These words, together with the opening sentence of the Latin, have been crossed out by bold lines across the top of the page, perhaps to be rewritten elsewhere in clearer form by

[4] Joseph Willard and Samuel Webber.

his Secretary. The Governor's Latin is not beyond criticism and requires in one or two places a little emendation to satisfy the demands of grammar, but the sense is clear enough. In translating I have taken just enough liberty with the Latin constructions, as it seems to me, to make passable though not admirable English and I have had to bear in mind that my task was to get back to the English phrases which were in the Governor's mind before he tried to transform them more or less forcibly into Latin.[5]

Reipublicae literariae, per totam orbem, artium et scientiarum luminari magno, Vos ipsos amicos et fautores manifesti; [6] amicissime Vice-Gubernator, vir honoratissime et clarissime, Consiliarii, spectatissimi fidissimique, Curatores et Senatores academici, celeberrimi et generosissimi, Vir illustrissime, nuper Praeses Reipublicae Americanae, Elogio omni dignissime, Professores, Tutores et alii, functionibus academicis eruditissimi, Pastores religiosi, semper venerandi, Juventutes academiae carissimi, nunc spes, mox patriae laureati, cujusque ordinis auditores, literati et honorandi, Vos omnes, pariter amicus, saluto.

Hujusce diei munus est, hanc sedem consecratam supplere. Nos monet viri praestantissimi et pii, cujus mors vacuum fecit. Amicula sua feralia lachrymis abundanter roravimus, et exequias reverentia celebravimus. Valedicimus. Sua fama Elogium alte volat,[7] et pectoribus nostris semper recordabitur.

Te, Domine Reverende, Universitatis summi Gubernatores liberissime supplere hanc sedem elegerunt. Virum quaesiverunt, religione, probitate, literis et honore ornatum; atque benevolentia, humanitate, affectionibusque generosissimis abundantem. Confidenter credunt, quod hujus electionis sapientiam evinces. Tu quasi Sol corruscans, haece systemate literata,[8] radiis genialibus suas plantas florentes fovebis, et illis novas vires praebebis, donec fructus copiosos edent, civitates Dei Adorabilis, alere, delectare, et ornare.

Et nunc auctoritate munitus, trado tibi Domine, et munus est mihi jucundissimum, has vestes officiales, coronis victorum potentium honorabiliores, Chartam, Tabulas publicas, Sigillum, et Claves; Symbola aeque ac officii testimonia. Omnibus Juribus, auctoritatibus, potestatibus et praeviligiis Praesidis Universitatis

[5] In venturing to mend the Latin text I have had the help and advice of Professor Roy Kenneth Hack.

[6] *Manifesti:* read *manifestos.*

[7] Emend *alte volat* to *alte evolat.*

[8] *Cf.* the "solar system," which the speaker seems to have in mind.

te munio. Hac Sede consecrata te stabilio, et Collegii Harvardiani Praesidem te annuncio; quo nomine primò te ex animo saluto. In te omnium oculi conjiciuntur. Tu eris, quasi civitas in monte sita, conspicuus: et sic luceat vestra lux apud hosce Juvenes, ut vestra facta videntes, nostrum patrem qui est in caelo adorent.

[TRANSLATION.]

Friends and avowed supporters yourselves of the republic of letters, which is the great beacon light of arts and sciences throughout the world:

Beloved Lieutenant Governor, honored and distinguished; Esteemed and trusted Councillors; Renowned and respected Directors and Senators of the College [i.e. Fellows & Overseers]; You, illustrious Sir, late President of the American republic, most worthy of all praise; Professors, Tutors and others, learned in all academic pursuits; Pastors of religion, ever to be reverenced; Beloved youths of the College, now the hope, soon to be the honored of your country; Hearers of whatever class, men liberally educated and full of honor;

All of you, I salute, for I equally with yourselves am a friend [of letters].

The duty of this day is to fill this consecrated seat. It reminds us of the distinguished and pious man whose death has made it empty. We have bedewed his funeral shroud with abundant tears, and have celebrated his obsequies with reverence. We bid him farewell. His fame flies high above our praise and shall be ever remembered in our breasts.

You, Reverend Sir, the Governors of the University have chosen to fill this seat. They have sought a man marked by religion, uprightness, letters, and honor, and abounding in benevolence, humanity, and generous affections. They firmly believe that you will demonstrate the wisdom of this choice.

You, shining like a sun upon these lettered systems,[8] with genial rays will foster their growing plants, will endue them with new strength till they bring forth bounteous fruit, to feed, to delight, and to adorn the cities of a Worshipful God.

And now, clothed with authority, I commit to you, Sir — a task most pleasing to me — these official robes, more honorable than the crowns of mighty conquerors, the charter, the public records, the seal, and the keys — symbols as well as evidences of office. With all the rights, authorities, powers, and privileges of President of the University I endow you, in this consecrated chair I

establish you, and I proclaim you President of Harvard College, with which name from my heart I first salute you. Upon you all eyes are focussed. You shall be, like a city set on a hill, seen of all, and may your light so shine among these youths that seeing your deeds they may glorify our Father who is in heaven.

Then followed the President's reply, the original text of which is preserved in the College archives.[9] One paragraph of the reply, referring to ex-President John Adams, was as follows:

Dubitare non possum quin tu Harvardiae alumnus et semper amicus, tu publicis privatisque virtutibus praestans; et viros inter claros, qui libertatem Americanam ancipitem feliciter asserere coeperunt, semper nominandus; quin tu vir excellentissime in rebus agendis diu versatus, et nunc in summo dignitatis gradu constitutus mihi pro merito lubenter sublevare praesto fueris, etiamque confido caeteros in Collegii rebus occupatos, quod ad illos attinet adjumento mihi semper adfuturos.

Governor Gerry resumed and concluded:

Restat, Domine, hac solemnitate summa, nomine Gubernatorum Universitatis summorum tibi gratulari; Benedictionem et gratiam divinam tibi obsecrare; In vestra aemulatione, sedulitate, et fidelitate officiali suam confidentiam exprimere; Te juvare et sustinere in hoc munere honorabili, suam mentem et decisionem declarare; denique, Quod Juventutes harvardiani, obedientiam, affectionem, et reverentiam tibi semper manifestabunt, fide confirmare.

[Translation.]

It remains, Sir, in the name of the supreme governors of the University to congratulate you on this high solemnity; to beseech for you divine benediction and grace, to express their confidence in your zeal, assiduity, and fidelity; to declare their mind and purpose to help and sustain you in your honorable office, and finally to pledge with confidence that the youths of Harvard will always manifest toward you obedience, affection, and reverence.

Since a Committee of the Overseers requested the text of the Governor's speech we may suppose that it was intended

[9] Harvard College Papers, VI. 69.

to print an account of the inauguration. Probably the President, with his customary unwillingness to appear in print, declined to hand over his own English address. So far as I can learn it does not exist at the present day.

Professor PEARSON read the following letter, stating that Stanton died three days later.

EDWIN M. STANTON TO PRESIDENT GRANT.

320 K. St.
Dec. 21, 1869

DEAR SIR, I beg you to accept my thanks for your nomination of me as one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. It is the only public office I ever desired, and I accept it with great pleasure.

The appointment affords the more pleasure as coming from you, with whom for several years I have had personal and official relations, such as seldom exist among men.

It will be my aim, so long as health and life permit, to perform the solemn duties of the office to which you have appointed me, with diligence, impartiality and integrity. I have the honor to be, truly your friend,

EDWIN M. STANTON.

To the PRESIDENT.

Mr. FORD submitted the following on

SOME LETTERS OF 1775.

Having, as I thought, a few days' release from proof-reading and preparation of "copy" I again read the letters of Horace Walpole for the years 1774 and 1775 to test with my somewhat fuller knowledge his opinion of the questions at issue between Great Britain and her American colonies. Samuel Johnson's position is too well known to call for review; his capacity for self-expression left no opening for discussion. Only a flat denial of his major premise could serve, and such denial closes not opens discussion. As the paid defender of ministerial policy he has been classed, tagged and put on the shelf. Walpole enjoyed a certain freedom

denied to Johnson; yet even he was cribbed within his prejudices and restricted by the quality of those to whom he wrote. With such limitations he said some things well and some things better than others. The positions of actor and spectator stand far apart; the critic seeks to construct a bridge of understanding to bring them together. If the critic is intelligent his statement is more valuable than that of either actor or spectator.

Horace Walpole was born in 1717; his father was prime minister of England from 1721 to 1742. Thus the first twenty-five years of the son's life was passed under the shadow or stimulus of a father whose exercise of power gave him parliamentary supremacy at the expense of his popularity. Sir Robert, being as he was, does not seem the best influence for a young man — even a son, for in family relations allowance for personal foibles can be made. The political events of the father's premiership and the constitutions of the state at that time would not offer a wholesome school for a youth of parts and ambition; but Horace was so unlike his father in qualities as to give rise to a belief, resting on no true foundation, that he was not Sir Robert's son. He had no public ambitions. He long remembered the atmosphere of power and disliked it; he served twenty-six years in Parliament and gladly retired without the slightest wish to return to public life, content to construct monstrosities of buildings, fill them with curios, and cultivate an artificial social connection that favored many weaknesses and only one strength — letter-writing.

This somewhat experienced, independent, disillusioned and remote observer, now greatly concerned in his own amusements, was fifty-four when the first Continental Congress met to appeal to the King for a recognition of the rights claimed by the Colonies. He measured the situation better than the ministry of the day and out of his occasional references to the differences — war in 1775, really a civil war — enough can be gathered to give rather a good opinion of his insight, and even of his expression, a mixture of irony and cynicism which would be wholly out of place in one actively participating in either the politics or the armed offence of the day. To his contemporaries his sentences would savor of disloyalty, so

easy is it at any time to invite attack from the loudest shouters for administration; at the interval of a century and a half they contain much sound judgment, the quintessence of political wisdom.

September, 1774, showed the American prospect not smiling, for troops were being sent from England. In the first week of October Parliament was suddenly dissolved. The Continental Congress sat through September and October, but its proceedings were not known in England until December, and in the anxious period of waiting seemed extremely bad. Walpole wrote to Mann, November 14: "I never augured well of that dispute [with America]! I fear we neither know how to proceed or retreat! I believe this is the case with many individuals, as well as the public!" Walpole's measure of Chatham's possible influence at that crisis is not far from the truth: "His Lordship is a little fitter for raising a storm than laying one, and of late seems to have lost both virtues. The Americans at least have acted like men, gone to the bottom at once, and set the whole upon the whole. Our conduct has been that of pert children: we have thrown a pebble at a mastiff, and are surprised it was not frightened. Now we must be worried by it, or must kill the guardian of the house, which will be plundered the moment little master has nothing but the old nurse to defend it."

Parliament met January 18, 1775, and a mass of American papers was laid before it. Before the contents could be studied war became the royal policy. The ministry drew a majority after them, the irrevocable step was taken, and from that time little good news came from America. Walpole could write February 18: "The war with America goes on briskly, that is as far as voting goes. A great majority in both houses is as brave as a mob ducking a pickpocket. They flatter themselves they shall terrify the colonies into submission in three months, and are amazed to hear that there is no such probability. They might as well have excommunicated them, and left it to the devil to put the sentence into execution." The Americans and their cause were far from being popular, even with the masses, and the mob, that force without intelligence, showed no interest in the matter. Even those who claimed to be intelligent did not take the pains to inform

themselves. The geography and people of America could not compare in interest to those of France or Italy, and the vast empty space behind the fringe of settlements on the Atlantic had little to recommend it except for a possible land speculation.

The news of Lexington, received in June, merely confirmed the feeling of Walpole that only a miracle of discretion could prevent overt hostilities, and Gage, honest to a fault, was far short of a miracle of discretion. But Gage knew better than any other the determination of a part, and yet only a faction, of the colonists to resort to extreme measures. After Bunker Hill — an indecisive affair — all doubt vanished and the Continental Congress practically closed the door to conciliation. The appointment of Washington to the command and his renunciation of remuneration beyond his actual expenses led Walpole to say that "if these folks will imitate both the Romans and Cromwellians in self-denial and enthusiasm, we shall be horribly plagued with them." By August he had framed a summary of accomplishment to date:

> Mrs. Britannia orders her senate to proclaim America a continent of cowards, and vote it should be starved unless it will drink tea with her. She sends her only army to be besieged in one of their towns, and half her fleet to besiege the *terra firma;* but orders her army to do nothing, in hopes that the American senate at Philadelphia will be so frightened at the British army being besieged in Boston, that it will sue for peace. At last she gives her army leave to sally out, but being twice defeated, she determines to carry on the war so vigorously till she has not a man left, that all England will be satisfied with the total loss of America; and if everybody is satisfied, who can be blamed? Besides, is not our dignity maintained? have not we carried our majesty beyond all example? When did you ever read before of a besieged army threatening military execution on the country of the besiegers! *car tel est notre plaisir!* But, alack! we are like the mock doctor; we have made the heart and the liver change sides; *cela étoit autrefois ainsi, mais nous avons changé tout cela!*

Before the end of the year — a year of wretched politics — Gage had been recalled, the trading towns, not fearing diminished commerce through the colonial non-importation

associations, were presenting addresses against the Americans, a change in the ministry in November strengthened the policy of war, the Howes were sent as military commanders and as peace commissioners, Boston was becoming untenable and secret aid from France encouraged the Americans. Nothing had happened in the colonies to reduce the expectations of the rebellious and the idea of independence gained in strength.

Walpole called the fomenters of the war "Scotch Jacobites," authors of every war since the days of Queen Elizabeth, and announced himself as "a zealot for liberty in every part of the globe," and consequently most heartily wishing success to the Americans. "They have hitherto not made *one* blunder; and the administration have made a thousand, besides two capital ones, of first provoking, and then of uniting the colonies. The latter seem to have as good heads as hearts, as we want both. . . . Probably the war will be long. On the side of England, it must be attended with ruin. If England prevails, England and American liberty is at an end! If the colonies prevail, our commerce is gone — and if, at last, we negotiate, they will neither forgive nor give us our former advantages." At the beginning of November he wrote: "Victory in any but a civil war fascinates mankind with a vision of glory. What should we gain by triumph itself? Would America laid waste, deluged with blood, plundered, enslaved, replace America flourishing, rich and free? . . . But if the provincials conquer, are they, like lovers, to kiss and be friends? Who are the heroes, where are the statesmen, that shall restore us to the position in which we stood two years ago?" Much the same speculations were made in 1860–61.

In further review of the situation in 1775 the evidence of some colonists is now printed for the first time. Except those expressly assigned to special collections the following letters are drawn from the William Smith Carter collection of family papers. The writers represented are Isaac Smith (1719–1787), son of William and Abigail (Fowle) Smith of Charlestown; his wife, Elizabeth Storer, daughter of Ebenezer and Mary (Edwards) Storer of Boston; their son Rev. Isaac (1749–1829); John Adams, who married a niece of Isaac, the

elder, and friends. Both sides of the quarrel with England are shown and in moderate language, with interesting social connections and divided opinions.

NATHL. WALKER APPLETON [1] TO WILLIAM SMITH JR.

SALEM, February 7, 1775.
Tuesday 4 oClock P.M.

Dear Friend, — As I know you are fond of News, I'll undertake to tell you some. You have doubtless heard that the Committee of Inspection at Marblehead, refused to lett the Admiral [2] have a Box of Candles which he imported in one of the last Vessells from England, without paying his 1½ per Cent Advance for the Poor of Boston; Whether it was right or no? I'll not pretend to say. In consequence of the above refusal the Admiral has ordered Capt. Bishop [3] of the *Lively* to press from Vessells bound in to Marblehead, which the Capt. has accordingly done; one Mr. Knot Martin [4] of that town has paid the Advance upon the candles, and carried them to the Admiral, but his Excellency did not see fitt to receive them, and told Mr. Martin he would not receive them nor cease from pressing Men untill the Com[mit]tee of *M[ar]blh[ea]d* waited upon him in person and asked his pardon for the Affront they put upon him and the Insult they had offered to the British Flagg. Wherein they had insulted the British Flag, I cannot say. But to come to the point in hand. Yesterday P. M. the *Lively* sent her Barge off to press Men out of a Vessell going in to Marblehead, which a Number of Marblehead Men observing, mann'd a Boat with Men and Arms, and putt off after them. When they had got pretty near the Barge they call'd to the prest Men which were two in Number to jump over board, and they would take them up. One of the Men accordingly did, Boots and all. As soon as he was over one of the Barge Men fired at him, but happily miss'd him; upon which he got into the Marblehead Boat. Then the Marblehead Men rise up in their Boat and presented their peices declaring that they would fire in upon them if they fired another Gun; upon which the Barge Men

[1] (1755–1795.) He married, May 24, 1780, Mrs. Sarah Greenleaf. A son of the same name (1783–1848) married, June 26, 1806, Sarah Tilden.

[2] John Montagu (1719–1795), in command of the naval forces on the North American Station.

[3] Thomas Bishop. The *Lively* had brought General Gage to be Governor in 1774.

[4] (1734–1822), son of Knott and Sarah Martin.

rowed off to their Vessell with the other Man. Where this unhappy Affair will end Time alone will discover. We have this Moment heard that Owen Warland who lives with Dr. J. Perkins died this Morning with the small Pox. Is it true?? I suppose you'll receive this Letter to morrow P. M. upon your return from Boston to pursue your important Studies after the relaxation of a Vacancy; mind and be a good Boy, and set a good Example, as you are now a Senior Sophister, so wishing you all prosperity in your Studies and other Avocations, I conclude by subscribing myself your sincere Friend

NATHL: WALKER APPLETON.

I expect (that is if it is agreeable) that you write by 1st convenient Oppo. My regards to your *nunc* but my *quondam* Chum. Looking over the Essex Paper of this Morning I find that the People of Glocester have lately chose their military Officers; amongst whom is John Low Esqr: 2 Lieut. Col., and afterward amongst the lower Officer is John Low *junr.* 2d Lieut: [5] which I take to be our old Friend Johnny. It is said that the Admiral has order'd another Man of War round to Marblehead, declaring he will have satisfaction. It was reported this P. M.; that the New-York Assembly had voted that they would *not* adopt the Measures of the Continental Congress; but [it] is now said that they voted not to take them into Consideration. Mark the Difference. Our Enemies are almost indefatigable, Bill, so good bye for the present.

NATHL. WALKER APPLETON TO WILLIAM SMITH.

Friday Morning 7 Clock.
SALEM, Feby. 7, 1775.

DEAR CAPTAIN, — Last Tuesday you could come from Cambridge to Salem and return again without calling to see your old Friend Nat. pray why so? Perhaps you'll say "I came upon important Business in my Station as Capt: to buy P-wd-r, therefore could not call." unless you have some better Reason, I think you might have stopp'd one Minute as you put up your Horse at the Inn almost opposite to the Doctors. I should have taken it kind in you to have called upon me, but will not condemn till I hear your own Reasons. Perhaps, I say perhaps, you did not think of Me. Dear Friend, I recd. your last by my Parents, agree entirely with you with respect to the Marblehead affair which I since understand is entirely finished to the satisfaction of the Adm-r-l. Your

[5] (1754–1801.)

Observations upon the v-n-l, m-n-st-r--l and c-rr-pt Ass-mbly at N-w Y-rk are just. it is, Bill, what our Enemies having been aiming at all along, to diminish the Number of the Members of each Assembly to allow them to set 7 Years, to make all Councellors by *Mandamus,* to pension all the Governors, etc., etc., but I hope and trust that they will be frustrated; it is said in town that when the people at N. Y. obliged the Capt. of the Vessell that arrived there from Scotland to put off from the Wharf, that he sent for the Mayor and Magistrates of the City, who interpos'd with their Authority to disperse the People, but that they took the Mayor prisoner and obliged the Vessell, to fall down to the Hook, but how true it is cannot say. We shall doubtless have the particulars by the post. This at present from, dear Bill, your Sincere Friend

NATHL. WALKER APPLETON.

Addressed: To Mr. William Smith, Student at Cambridge. Favored by Mr. E. Pearson.[6]

On the back of this sheet William Smith has written: "I observed in last Salem paper that Pickering is publishing a new Exercise for the Militia if you cou'd send me one as soon as publish'd and the cost I shou'd be oblig'd to you, and the particulars of the Salem Expedition."

WILLIAM S. OLIVER TO DANIEL OLIVER.[7]

NEWPORT, 13 April, 1775

DEAR BROTHER, — I hope you will not think I have been too remiss in not answering your last favor more particularly when I tell you I have been very much hurried in my business lately and likewise have been moving my Family, etc., to a more agreeable part of the Town and a better House. I am very sorry I have not yet had an opportunity of sending Capt. Stevens's sword, but as Mumford does not yet Ride in his Carriage he could not take it. If I have not a good opportunity sooner I shall send it by him in about a fortnight, when he sais he shall use his Carridge. But Mrs. Oliver and myself are in hopes that by that time we shall have the pleasure of waiting on you at Newport, for we imagain you might travil incog very securely. below you have

[6] Eliphalet Pearson (1756–1826), a distinguished scholar of the Andover Theological Academy.

[7] From the Hutchinson-Oliver Papers.

an Account of the Plate. We have no Newes at present; if we should have any very particular I will endeavour to write it you or send you my York paper; but as the Boston post sets out as soon as the York post arrives I seldom have time enough (in the meantime) to write. I now am more afraid of the Rebelion being general on this Continent than ever; but as this Island might be so easily kept in subjection I am not so uneasy on my own account as I should be if I was on the Continent. I hope if you have anything particular I shall hear from you by the next opportunity. In the meantime be assured I ever remain your most affectionate Brother,

WM: S. OLIVER

P.S. Mrs. Oliver joins in Love to you and all Friends.

Account of Plate received from D. O. Esq.: 2 Porringers, 1 Childs Boat, 1 Pepper Box — weighing 22 oz. 12 dwt. 0. grs.

Addressed: Daniel Oliver, Esq. In Boston. paid 6*d*.

JOHN ADAMS TO ISAAC SMITH.[8]

PHYLADELPHIA, June 7, 1775

DEAR SIR, — Two days ago I was greatly surprised by a Letter from you, which was acceptable both for the important public Intelligence it contained, and as it informed me of your Escape from Boston. I had suffired much Anxiety on account of yourself and your Family, supposing you were confined in Town and subject to I know not what Inconveniences and Indignities.

I cant yet learn that Mr. Boylstone, or Mrs. Gill, are suffered to leave the Town.

News we have none at this Place. The Proceedings of the Congress are all secret, but such few Votes as you see in the public Papers. The N. foundland British Fishery we had taken Care of before I had the Honour of your Letter: and you may depend upon it that not a Pound of flour, or Bread, or Meat, goes from any of these Colonies to supply that fishery. We have here a most glorious Season, plenty of Rain and as fine a Prospect of Crops as ever was known. This is in a kind Providence our Security against Famine, and the amazing military Ardor that now prevails through every Colony upon the Continent, we hope will secure our Country against the Swords of our Enemies.

There are in this City Three large Regiments, raised, formed, armed, trained, and uniformed, under officers consisting of Gentle-

[8] From the deposit of Charles W. Townsend.

men of the very first Fortune and best Character in the Place. All this has started up since 19th April. They cover the Common every Day in the Week, Sundays not excepted. There is a Company of young Quakers. This Spirit is not confined to the City, but runs through the Province and through all the neighbouring Colonies. Saturday afternoon I made a little Excursion down to Wilmington. Every little Village we passed thro had Companies of Men exercising.

My duty to my Aunt, my Love to your two sons and to Miss Polly and Miss Betsy, and Regards to all freinds. I am, sir, your most hum. servt.

JOHN ADAMS.

Addressed: To Isaac Smith, Esq. Merchant in Salem. favored by Dr. Church.

JAMES COGSWELL TO LEVI HART.[9]

CAMP IN ROXBURY, 15th June, 1775

DEAR SIR, — In much confusion and noise I set down to answer your very welcome favour which I received this morning. The news of Mrs. Woodbridge's death was very affecting, but the pain much alleviated by the thoughts of her mingling [in] the holy society above, leaveing this dreadfull world, this guilty land, dressed in all the horrors of war, full of all kinds of impurity, for the pure peaceable fruition of the liberty of the sons of God.

I will proceed to answer your queries as well as I am able, tho' I must be but brief.

As to the moral state of the Camp it is bad; I see no kind of seriousness; but on the contrary my ears are filled with the most shocking oaths and imprications; and the tremendous name of the great God is taken on the most trifling occations. The principle part of the Troops that are here belong to this and Rhode Island Governments: ours are not so bad as theirs but we are far from having any thing to boast of.

As to the preaching I am not able to judge. I heard Mr.

[9] The original is in the Boston Public Library. The writer of the letter may be a son of James Cogswell (1720–1807), minister of Scotland (in Windham), Connecticut. Dexter, *Yale Biographies*, I. 701. One of the name, twenty-one years of age, was a private in the troops sent from Coventry, Connecticut, on the Lexington alarm.

Gordon [10] last sabbath and have not attended to our Chaplain; [11] but from what I can guess, from his conversation, etc., I shall be disappointed if it is of the best kind. Mr. Spring [12] and Mr. Fish [13] of Upton are here; indeed the Camp abound with Clergymen, many of whom are very boon companions; I have not consulted the general [14] yet about the expediency of your coming; his mind is full of more important matters, (if I may be allowed to say so) he is wholly taken up with his business as a Soldier. We expect every day a visit from our Neighbours and we are not in circumstances to give them that reception which we wish. We are going to open intrenchments to day in some places out of the view of the enemies camp and to night upon Dorchester neck. I suppose that will provoke the enemies fire. As to the numbers killed on Noddles Island I can get no satisfactory account; it has got to be an old story here and little is said about it. I do not think there was more killed than 40 or 50. Mr. Pitkin [15] of Farmington came into Town last evening. I hope to see you here this Summer, tho' I believe it not best for you to come at present. Dr. Elliot came out of Boston the day before yesterday, he went over Charlestown ferry, so I am not able to say what intelligence he brings. There was an exchange of Prisoners last week. The soldiers that returned to Boston told their comrades of the kind treatment they met with from us. It made some disturbance in the camp, but they were hushed by the officers. General Gage has published a manifesto offering pardon to all the Rebels except Hancock and Adams. I have not been able to procure one to send to you. It will likely be in the public papers.

General Spencer sends his regards to you. I am, dear Sir, by a thousand obligations yours

JAMES COGSWELL.

Addressed: To Mr. Levi Hart,[16] Bishop of a Church in Preston.

[10] William Gordon (1730–1807). He preached the election sermon in July of this year.

[11] Benjamin Boardman (1731–1802) minister at Middle Haddam, in Chatham, Conn., was chaplain in Spencer's regiment after its regular organization, but the description of the text will hardly apply to him. See his Diary in 2 *Proceedings*, VII. 400.

[12] Samuel Spring (1746–1819), who served as chaplain in Arnold's expedition to Canada.

[13] Elisha Fish, died August 6, 1795, in his seventy-sixth year and forty-fifth year of his ministry. He married, in 1751, Hannah Forbush of Westborough.

[14] Joseph Spencer.

[15] Timothy Pitkin (1727–1811) minister at Farmington 1752–1785.

[16] (1738–1808.) Dexter, II. 657.

ISAAC SMITH, JR., TO ISAAC SMITH, SR.

LONDON, June 26, [1775.]

DEAR SIR, — As I find a transport just ready to sail for Boston, I cannot avoid taking the first opportunity to acquaint you of my arrival after a passage of four weeks, tho' uncertain, whether a line will reach you.[17] We had moderate pleasant weather for the most part; and mutual good humor made it extremely agreeable. Mr. and Mrs. Green[18] were the best sailors on board. Mrs. Amory[19] was sick almost the whole of the time, but forgot the fatigue of the voyage, soon after she got on shore. Derby[20] arrived here a fortnight or more before Brown. America, Boston in particular, is now the principle object of attention. I am unable at present to give you any particular information and can only say, that every one sympathizes with us on our unhappy situation; but that I cannot find the proof of any disposition in the Ministry to desist from the prosecution of an American War. I should be glad to write to my dear Mother, to my brother and sister, and to many other friends; but the time will not allow, and my mind is so full of perplexity and concern, that I am scarce capable of anything whatever. I beg leave only to express the most affectionate regards and best wishes, of which a tender heart is susceptible, and am, my dear Sir, Your duit: Son,

IS. SMITH JR.

P. S. Mr. Hyslop and Son,[21] now in company with me, begs me to ask the favour of you to acquaint Mrs. Hyslop or Dr. Chauncey (if you can) that they are well, and have received all their letters from their family.

ISAAC SMITH, JR., TO ISAAC SMITH, SR.

LONDON, July 27, 1775.

DEAR SIR, — I wrote to you about three weeks ago to inform you of my arrival, and have since had the pleasure of receiving two letters from you by the way of Bilboa.

[17] He had sailed from Marblehead, May 27, on the *Minerva*, Captain John Calahan. Mrs. Copley and three children and Samuel Quincy, son of Edmund, were among the passengers.

[18] Joseph Greene (1706–1780).

[19] John Amory (1728–1803) married Catherine, daughter of Rufus Greene.

[20] Richard Derby.

[21] William Hyslop (1714–1796) and either William (1753–1792) or David (1755–1822) Hyslop. He married Mehitable, daughter of David and Elizabeth Stoddard.

Last week arrived here Gen: Gage's proclamation,[22] which many persons were ready to imagine would be followed by instant submission. We have this week the news of the engagement at Charlestown, the burning of that town, and the repulse of our men, tho' at a great expence to the King troops. But we have no account from the Provincial side, and are at a loss to know what effect this affair has had upon the neighbourhood of Boston. America is at length become an object of great attention on this side of the water. I find none, and I believe there are few, if any, who do not sincerely wish a reconciliation with the Colonies, but how to effect this, is the difficulty. Proposals of some sort have been expected from the Continental Congress. And if no condescension is discover'd on our part in the course of this year, I fear the worst of consequences.

You will find, Sir, that the livery of London lately resolved to petition, and that the corporation of the city actually have petitioned the King for a suspension of hostilities.[23] But the former bear so small a proportion to the rest of the inhabitants and have so small an interest compared with the mercantile part, and are considered so much as the mere echo of Wilkes, that every step they can take, is disregarded, as of very little consequence even in the city itself. And the latter that is a Corporation who are more respectable, are divided in sentiments, as you may see by a vote not to answer a letter, address'd to the Lord Mayor from New York. No expectation ought to be formed of any considerable exertion, as likely to be made here, in our favour. As to our agreement of non-importation, the loss of our commerce is certainly not as yet felt by the nation. Individuals suffer and complain. But as far as I can learn, this kingdom was never in a more quiet condition, in general, nor the trade of it ever more flourishing than at present. For the sake of my own country I could wish it were otherwise. But the fact is, as I am every day told, that the demand from the Continent of Europe, (Spain especially,) for most of the goods, which used to be exported to America, is prodigiously increased, and will continue to be great for some time to come. The Merchants, connected with North America, who did their utmost for us the last session of Parliament, (not the manufacturing part of the Kingdom,) are the only set of people, essentially injured by the present contest.

I have been obliged to be at greater expence in the article of cloathing, than I suspected when I left home. This has led me to apply to Mess: Champion and Dickason for some monies. I must

[22] That of June 12, 1775. [23] Ford, *Letters of William Lee*, I. 25 *ff*.

soon make a second application to them. I know indeed, it is wrong, Sir, in present circumstances, to tresspass on your indulgence in this way; nor was it my original design to do so; but the plea of necessity, will I hope, serve for my excuse.

Tho' this is not the best season to find one's friends in London, yet I have met with such marks of civility from some of the dissenting clergy, from Gentlemen who formerly honour'd me with their acquaintance, and from others also, that I have no doubt of their kind assistance in every thing I wish, as far as lies in their power. I have not yet seen Mr. Wombwell or Mr. Hill.

To relieve my mind, and prevent a decay of health, it is proper for me to leave the city for a while, and I purpose to go into the country in a few days. Mr. W. N. Boylston [24] has just returned here after a very extensive tour. He has travell'd farther, I believe, in this part of the world than any of his countrymen have done, having visited Italy, the Island of Malta, some of the Islands in the Archipelago, the holy land, Egypt and part of Arabia. His health seems perfectly reestablished.

If any of my friends should complain that I do not write to them, I beg they would impute it more to the great uncertainty there is at present with regard to conveyance of letters, than to any other cause. I am, Sir, duitifully Yours,

Is. Smith jr.

P S. *July* 28: this day have arrived here Mr Joseph Hooper, and Mr. Thos. Dickason, both in high health.
Aug. 9: More troops and ships order'd. Adml. Greaves recall'd. Gen. Gage said to have leave to come home. No appearance of approach to an accommodation, by what I can find, on either side. I intended to have [written] Dr. Cooper, by this opportunity, but am prevented, and will, as soon as I have another. I do not write by the way of New York at present.

Addressed: To Isaac Smith, Esq: Merchant in Salem. by favour of Capt. Coffin.

Isaac Smith, Jr., to his Mother.

London, July 31, [1775.]

My dear Mother, — I cannot omit writing to you by this opportunity, tho' I know not whether a letter will reach you. You have probably heard of my arrival by this time, after a very agreable passage. My friends here have very kindly renewed their

[24] Ward Nicholas Boylston (1749–1828).

acquaintance with me, and if their civility could render me happy, I should not fail to be so. Do not imagine, my dear mamma, tho I am again removed at this distance, that I have forgot home, or am as yet unaffected, when I think of it. It returns to my mind almost every instant, the fate of my country, which appears to me to hang in dreadful suspence, deprives me of the pleasure I should otherwise enjoy here, and throws a gloom upon every thing around me; tho' I feel indeed the less anxiety and concern, when I recollect that most of my nearest connections have left Boston, and cannot therefore be reduced to the same circumstances of want and distress as those who yet remain in that unfortunate town.

The last week brought me intelligence of such a kind, as I wish, it is in vain however, I fear, to wish, yet I cannot still but ardently wish may not be repeated. I am glad to say, that as far as my knowledge of people here has extended, there are few, if any, who rejoice at the news of any misfortune, that befals us. It is the general desire and wish, that we may be upon good terms with each other again, and the present contest, which can bring so little good to either side, and to us is productive of so much mischief, may cease. But I must tell you at the same time, that there is as little disposition here among the men in power or the kingdom in general to give up their claims for the sake of peace, as there is in America. Would to God, that jealousy and misapprehension, prejudice and passion had not so great a sway! A cordial reconciliation would not then be difficult; but while mutual condescension is wanting, the breach daily grows wider, and is in danger of becoming irreparable.

The melancholy state of things must, I know, deeply affect you. I fear, it preys too much upon your spirits, and should greatly rejoice, could I suggest any circumstance by way of relief, that might serve to render the calamitous scene around you more tolerable, than I suppose it to be to a tender and humane mind. The ways of Heav'n are dark and intricate. But let us be assured, that the designs of Providence are not the less benevolent and wise, because we are unable to penetrate them in every particular instance.

> Religion! Providence! An after-state!
> Here is firm footing, here is solid rock.
> His hand the good man, fastens on the skies,
> And bids earth reel, nor feels her idle whirl.

I have been in comfortable health most of the time since I arrived here, tho' not so perfectly well, as when I left Salem, the latter indeed has been owing chiefly to the air of London, which

is not at all agreable to a stranger at first. I met with an accidental wound in the forefinger of my right hand, while on Shipboard, which disable'd me for writing, till lately. Mrs. Green bore her voyage to the admiration of every body, but seems very unhappy here. Mr. and Mrs. Amory are at Bristol. Mrs. Copley is now carrying her children thro' inoculation for the smallpox.

I beg all my friends to be assured of my regard for them, and of my real sympathy with them. My dear mother, Your affectionate Son,

Is. Smith Jr.

Isaac Smith, Jr., to William Smith.

London, Augst. 2: 1775.

Dear Billy, — My last voyage was the most comfortable time, I have yet had at Sea. Contrasted with my passage to Boston four years ago, it was delightful. But I cannot say, that I have felt so happy since I have been on shore, as I was at sea. Then I had society to relieve my mind. But here, tho' in the midst of a crowd, I am in a sense alone; and tho' removed at this distance, I cannot lose the recollection of home.

I found this country upon my arrival, much as I expected, in a very quiet state. What passes among us, has made no alteration as yet here. A great deal more is said about America indeed, than when I was here last, but not a great deal in our favour. Such, as have been connected with the trade of the Colonies, undoubtedly suffer, but an hundred merchants may fail, before the manufacturing part of the kingdom will be affected. The commerce of G. Britain is said to be in the most flourishing state imaginable, excepting so far as relates to us, and this part of it, far from being estimated at that high rate we are apt to imagine. What may happen in the course of another year, I know not; but from the present aspect of affairs here, I see not the least ground to expect any relief, or any change of measures whatever. Administration will be left to act, as they judge fit, without any opposition from the people at large.

Whether any more troops are order'd for Boston, I cannot tell you. If they are order'd, they cannot arrive, before the summer is over, which is one fortunate circumstance for us. But we are not to flatter ourselves, that more will not be sent. They boast much here of the wealth of this country, (and an immense share of wealth to be sure it has) and they assert, that it shall not be wanting, if necessary, to reduce the Colonies to a due state of sub-

ordination. If more men, they say, cannot be spared, from the peace establishment in England and Ireland, foreign troops shall be hired. I believe however from the humanity I can plainly discover, that it is not yet too late for us to make peace. But I fear much that a favourable opportunity of promoting our own interest, will be lost, and nothing heard from the Continent for the present, but accounts of the progress of an unnatural; needless, dangerous and destructive contest with our present State.

To say nothing of politics in a letter at this time of day would be unpardonable. Therefore I have given you thus much. As to the College, I suppose you knew no more of it, after I left you. It is with me a matter of great doubt, whether I shall ever again be connected with that Society. I wish it may not perish in the general wreck.

You will write to me, as often as you can. And be as particular as possible in your letters to me. I am, my dear brother, Yours sincerely

IS. SMITH JR.

August 5. Since the above I find five more regiments order'd, and some companies of artillery.

I beg my compliments and best wishes to all my friends. If any of them should complain of my not writing to them particularly, the circumstances of the times must serve, as an apology.

ISAAC SMITH, SR., TO ALEXANDER CHAMPION.

SALEM, Augt. 27, 1775.

SIRS, — Your much esteemed favor of the 4th May I sometime since received and are much Obligd to you for the good Opinion you entertain of me which I sensibly feal, though unworthy of itt, and wish I may ever maintain. Mr. Buighes about the time of his going away mentiond as I understood by your desire, my Accepting the office of trust for the Society for promoting Christian knowledge in these parts, which by the death of the late L. Govr. Oliver [25] was vacant and desird me to think of the Acceptance of itt, as I understood no person had then the immediate Management of itt. I gave him to Understand that I should be glad some Other person might be the officer. I Understand by your Letter that Mr. Phillips had then taken the affairs of the Company into his hands which had I known should have rather choose they should have continud with him as being a very proper per-

[25] Andrew Oliver (1706–1774).

son. Mr. Phillips is removd to Norwich in Connecticut. As the times are so dificult I should rather choose to have been excusd, but as itt may be a determent to the Affairs of the Society, and the business, thereby retarded, to make choice of another person, att such a distance, I will endeavour to discharge itt in the best Manner I am capable and am, Sir, with the greatest regard.

P. S. I Observe what you say respecting my Son and your Affection for him and hope he will conduct himself in that station of life, he seems most inclind to and entered upon, with honor to his profession and Credit to himself.

Isaac Smith, Sr., to Wm Bowden [26] Esq.

Salem, Augt 27, 1775.

Sir, — Your much esteemed favor of the 3d May I not long since reced by which I am informd that the Honble. society of which you preside as Governor have made choice of me as one your Trustees, here for the purpose of carrying on the most laudable design of proprigating the gospel in the parts. I am very sorry you have made choice of One no more qualifyd for so important a trust, as am sensible many more sutable Ones might have been found and the more so, as the Gentleman who has itt in trust since the death of the late Lt. Gov. Oliver would have been a very sutable person. The present Unhappy cituation of Our Affairs renders the transaction of every kind of business of what kind soever, very dificult. I wish upon that as well as every Other Account some Other person might have been Appointed. But hope the Noble design of the Institution that of building up the Kingdom of the redeemer and promoting the happiness of Our fellow Creatures will insite in me a disposition to discharge the trust in the best Manner I am capable. With great respect I am, Sir, Your Most humble

Is. Smith

Isaac Smith, Sr., to Isaac Smith, Jr.

Salem, Augt. 28, 1775.

Dear Isaac, — The inclosd,[27] you will see who itt is for and the reason of my so doing is that I did not know; but itt might be an Introduction to an Acquaintance with him. I have by request of Docr. Cooper, and as itt seems Agreeable to the Gentlemen here

[26] Governor of St. Thomas' Hospital. [27] His letter to William Bowden.

who are desirous of my Accepting the trust, have given an Answer in the Affirmative. I have wrote Mr. Champion upon the Subject. Doctr. Elliot [28] is still in Boston, and seems to be unsettled in his mind as a Matter of Conscience, whether he Ought too Come out, his Son preached att Mr Dymonds [29] a few sabbaths past. People att times are still coming out itts very sickly in Boston Amongst the Inhabitants, but as you have more perfect Account of the cituation of the Town, by those who we here [hear] are gone lately to Engl [I] shall not say any thing relative thereto.

Itt has been thot last week that the Troops would have made an Attempt to come Out, and the Colonists had put themselves in readiness to receive them, but those who come Out of Town seem all to think they wont. Our people have lately intrenched on the hill the back of Sternes house, and expected to be Opposd, but nothing more than some Cannonading has as yet happen'd. Your Mother and all the family are well. We are in dayly Expectation of hearing of your Arrival, Nothing has arrived here or att Boston that we can learn later than Darbey, Wishing the divine protection and guidance may Accompany you is the wish of your affect. father.

I. S.

By late post we have the Acct of the death of Mr How [30] att Hartford.

ISAAC SMITH, JR., TO ISAAC SMITH, SR.

LONDON, Septr. 26, [1775]

DEAR SIR, — I wrote you last by the N. York packet, the beginning of this month. And by this time I hope a vessel has arrived at Nantucket, by which I sent several letters. I have been anxious to hear from you for some time, as I have not received any letter of a later date than June. I should feel much less unhappy, than I do at present, could I hear as often from Salem, as I do from Boston.

The numbers of fugitives from our poor Province greatly increase here. Mr. Vassal [31] and family, Mr. Brattle,[32] Mr. R.

[28] John Eliot (1754–1813).

[29] James Diman (1707–1788).

[30] Joseph Howe (1747–1775), son of Perley and Damaris (Cady) Howe. See Dexter, *Yale Biographies*, III. 127.

[31] John Vassall (1738–1796), his wife, Elizabeth Oliver, and a niece.

[32] William Brattle (1706–1776).

Temple,[33] and many others have lately arrived. Provision and necessaries of every kind are sending in large quantities to B[oston]. But I should not be surprized to hear, that it is abandoned before winter, and the army and remaining inhabitants are removed to Rhode Island, or some place, where they may have better quarters. Not that I much expect this will be the case, but such is the talk of some persons here.

It has been of great hurt to us, and obliges the friends and advocates of the Colonies to plead much less successfully in their support, that the Continental Congress have made no kind of proposal to Government, which could be accepted, as the means of reconciliation. On the contrary, every thing that comes from our side the water is of such a nature, as tends only to raise the public resentment here higher, and to increase the prejudices of this kingdom, already great enough, against us. Notwithstanding all that you may see, Sir, in the papers, there is no sign of general uneasiness, nor any prospect of commotions and disturbances, on account of America. I do not see the least shadow of ground, on which to build the hope of condescension, on the part of Great Britain, unless America sets the Example.

Very unluckily for us, two intercepted letters,[34] wrote by Mr. John Adams, and one from another member of the Congress have been republished here and (especially the former,) have furnished a topic for general conversation the week past. They are supposed to contain proof that the Congress, some of them at least, have very different views from what they profess in their publications.

The pain, occasioned by straining the muscles of my breast, just before I left home, has twice returned upon me of late, with great violence. The last week I was confined by it a few days, in consequence of a cold, which brought it on. I am fortunately rid of it now, and should be sorry to feel it again.

I remain, Sir, with my most affectionate regards to my Mother, to my brother and sisters, and to all my friends, and the sincerest sympathy with them in their present circumstances, Your duitl. Son,

Is. Smith Jr.

P.S. I send a number of the Public ledger. This paper comes the nearest to Edes and Gill of any that is published here, and contains the most on the side of America.

[33] Robert Temple, son of Thomas. He married Mehitabel Nelson, daughter of John Nelson.

[34] Printed in *Life and Works of John Adams*, II. 411*n*.

THOMAS BERNARD [35] TO REV. ISAAC SMITH, JR.

LINCOLN, Sep. 27, 1775.

DEAR SMITH, — Your letter reached my hands at this place yesterday; we have all of us much Reason to lament the cause which has driven you from New England; even to those who have the most sanguine Expectations of the Restoration of Peace and Government the present Situation is terrible; to them who think ill of the Situation of public Affairs it is still worse. In the first instance it is not to be viewd without pain; in the second the scene excites horror. It appears however to me that in this, as in many other instances, the firmness and moderation of the English increase with the calls for them; and may give us hopes of futurity.

For these six weeks past I have been continually rambling about till about six days ago when I arrived here at my Sisters, who is married to Mr. White of this County.[36] I have met my Father here, with whom I expect to return to Ailesbury very early in next month, from whence I will write to you or call upon you in a short time. I don't think I shall fix myself in London till after Christmas; however we have time to talk about it. I am heartily sorry for poor Ned Freeman.[37] Present my Compliments to our friends Green,[38] Paine [39] and Oxnard.[40] I hope soon in person to congratulate them on their escape from the storms of sea and land. Beleive me truly yours,

Tho. Bernard.

Addressed: Revd Mr. I. Smith, N. 4 Knowles Court, little Carter Lane, Doctors Commons, London.

FROM ISAAC SMITH, JR., TO —— [41]

LONDON, Oct. 2. 1775.

REVD AND DEAR SIR, — About a month ago I wrote to you by Mr. P. Hughes, under cover to Mr. Fras. Green [42] since which some

[35] (1750–1818), Son of Sir Francis Bernard (1711?–1779), governor of Massachusetts, and Amelia Offley. He married (1) Margaret, daughter of Patrick Adair, and (2) Charlotte Matilda Hulse.

[36] Jane Bernard married Charles White of Lincoln.

[37] Edmund Freeman (1750–1780), of Marblehead.

[38] David Greene (1749–1812) of Boston. He married Rebecca Rose of Antigua. [39] William Paine (1750–1818), of Worcester.

[40] Edward Oxnard (1747–1803), of Boston.

[41] Samuel Cooper or Andrew Eliot.

[42] (1742–1809), a merchant of Boston.

American papers have reported you, as imprisoned on board a man of war. Your favour of 20 Augt. gives me the pleasure of finding, that you are still at large, if one may be said to be so, confined within the limits of a single town. It is a circumstance not a little mortifying to me, that Mrs. H., whose unfortunate lot in life I most sincerely pity, should have carried on shore again the letters, to which you refer, but I hope to receive them by some other opportunity.

The situation of affairs, here, is not different so far as I can perceive, from what it was when I wrote you as above. Nor do I find, that the situation of the Colonies is better. We shall probably remain as we are, on each side, till the beginning of another year. What will then take place, God only knows. To relate to you my own fears and apprehensions, could not be a welcome tale. I will not therefore indulge my present melancholy, in delineating those gloomy scenes, of which my imagination is full and that must inevitably ensue from a continuance of civil discord, unless Providence, our refuge in time of trouble, should graciously interpose to prevent them.

Parliament meets the latter end of this month, earlier than usual, and is expected immediately to enter upon business. In the mean while, a plan is probably forming to bring us to submission. Whatever it is, from the general disposition of the kingdom with regard to the Colonies, and the feeble state of opposition, one may venture to conjecture, that it will have no great difficulty in obtaining the sanction of the legislature. Hanoverians are order'd to supply the place of British troops in the Meditterranean. It is suspected here, that B[oston] will be abandoned soon and Rhode I[sland] or some more convenient place seized as winter quarters for the army, and those under their protection. Another report too is current, that an offer from the Empress of Russia of her troops, on the condition only of defraying the expence of transportation, has been refused by the Crown. On what authority this is founded, I can not learn. A good deal of resentment is conceived against A[dmiral] G[raves] on a supposition of gross negligence in his duty. Adm. Shuldham is I suppose now on the point of sailing, to supersede him. Addresses have been presented from Manchester, Lancaster, Leicester, Liverpoole, and other places, not to beg relief for the want of trade, but praying for the exertion of force in the Colonies. As these are not contradicted by counter-petitions, it seems to furnish some kind of proof, that the trade to America does not bear that large proportion to the whole trade of the kingdom,

which has hitherto been imagined. To say, that the loss of our commerce, is not at all felt, would be untrue. I know of individuals who are sensible of it, to their great disadvantage, and doubt not there are many more. But even these, (excepting a few) do not murmur. They acquiesce in the measures, of Administration, and profess a readiness to sacrifice their private interests, on a supposition that force is become absolutely requisite to maintain the supremacy of G. B. and to give security to the commerce of this country for the future. Indeed it is difficult to root out of the minds of many the idea that the councils of the Continent are aiming at a total separation. Three intercepted letters have not a little contributed to cherish and confirm this persuasion.

What I have said of the quiet State of the nation, at home, will be deemed impossible in America. "A decaying trade, multitudes of starving poor, an immense national debt, a discontented people," are sounds we have long been accustomed to hear. As to the first, it is to be remarked, that if, the trade of G. B. to the Colonies is interrupted, yet it has been upon the increase in every other part of the world, since the conclusion of the last peace, and now flourishes to such a degree, as must enable it, to maintain a war, for some years at least with a country, whose commercial resources are entirely cut off and which is yet a stranger to many of the useful arts of life, provided I mean that a foreign war should not intervene, and whether this would change the ballance in our favour, is very uncertain. The numbers of the idle and indigent here may possibly be great, but I believe, they are much less considerable in comparison than in almost any other state in Europe. And vast as the national debt appears to us, it is not of that magnitude in the estimation of people on this side the water, that they would hesitate to add to it, if necessity required. If we may judge of the credit of the Nation by the public funds, in which foreigners as well as Englishmen are interested, it is every day rising, instead of falling, and whatever may be said among us, has not been affected by any thing that has happen'd, in the course of this year. As to any commotions, on account of the prosecution of a war with the Colonies, there are none as yet existing, nor do I see the least prospect of any, for some time to come. You will do wrong, Sir, to judge of the sentiment of the kingdom at large, or even of this metropolis, by the resolves and proceedings of Guildhall. Our friends and advocates are not a few. But all the good they do us is to declare in our favour, and to wish success to our opposition. Wilkes, who is said to have behaved extremely well in character of a Magistrate, is however, regarded,

as an object of no importance. Sawbridge soon succeeds him, as Mayor.[43]

I lament the principles and motives, whatever they were, that have guided the determinations of the Congress. A very little condescension might have paved the way toward a mutual accommodation. And tho' every fresh piece of intelligence that is receiv'd of late, tends not to sooth, but to inflame, I have still that confidence left in the generosity and humanity of Old England, as to imagine, that our wonted cordial connection with it might be restored, without submitting to dishonourable terms. But such is the course of human affairs, when quarrels arise between communities, calamity on one or both sides is the common road to peace. I have dwelt longer on this unpleasant subject, than I at first intended. It is more agreable to view the circumstances, into which we are thrown, in a moral than in a political light. The present crisis is certainly adapted to fill a thoughtful mind with serious reflections, and in whatever degree civil dissentions may affect our outward tranquillity, there is, as I doubt not you, Sir, happily experience, a peace, which the world can neither give nor take away.

I should not be sorry to hear, that the College had got together again, at a convenient distance from C[ambridge] for several reasons. As to my relation to it, if it can be retained in my absence, I should be glad; if not, I do not desire it. It would not be an unwise step, to remove the library and apparatus. They may be secure perhaps at C[ambridge] but they are so very valuable, that I think they ought not to remain in any place, near an encampment.

The dissenting clergy are our warm friends, some of them, much too warm. I do not mean to intimate, that the pulpit here is a theatre, on which politics are displayed. Far from it, I have met with friendship and civility from several of the Gentlemen I have just mentioned and I think it better to remain here with the view of peaceably pursuing the duties of my profession, than to return during the continuance of this unhappy contest, tho I frequently wish to do so. There is nothing in E[ngland] which can attach me to it, in preference to my own country, when once its political atmosphere is grown calm and serene. For this, I can only sigh, and with you, my dear Sir, with every one, as sincerely desirous of the return of public peace and harmony, devoutly look up to that being, who,

Rides in the whirlwind, and directs the Storm;

[43] John Sawbridge (1732?–1795).

who has the hearts of all men in his hand, and can turn them as the rivers of water are turned.[44]

I fear, that our correspondence must soon drop for the present, to be renewed again, I hope, after a while. Communication, except with B[oston] is become exceeding difficult. From my nearest connections I have not heard for some time past. Nor shall I have any opportunity of writing to them after this week. This renders my present situation doubly disagreeable. But I look upon my own inconveniencies as trivial, compared with those my friends suffer. If this reaches you, restored to the embraces of your good family, please to present them all with my compliments, and real wishes for their welfare, and accept the most respectful and affectionate regards, from Sir, etc.

ISAAC SMITH, JR., TO WILLIAM SMITH.

LONDON, Octr. 25, 1775

MY DEAR BROTHER, — I thank my sister and you for your two letters. I wrote you both by way of Nantucket in August, and hope, as I have sent by different conveyances, you have heard from me more than once by this time. It is odd that some of my letters were not received at the date of your's.

It seems, that you have had fine news in the summer. *Lord N[orth] gone to France; Parliament house pulled down; Wilkes encamped,* and I know not how much beside all this. One would be apt to think from your papers, that every thing was going right here. But the misfortune of the case is, that affairs on this side the water are just the reverse of what you suppose them to be. Whatever may be told you, rely upon it for certain, that the people of England are far from being on the eve of an insurrection; that our friends are not either as to numbers or consequence, capable of doing as much service; that they smile, when they are told, that the Colonies expect to receive any real assistance from them; that the most considerable part of the kingdom in point of property, rank and influence look upon the Colonies in a state of total revolt, and imagine it necessary, either to give them up, or secure their connection with this Country by force; that there is very little complaint as yet of the want of trade, notwithstanding the loss of American Commerce; that there is no apprehension of a speedy change in the ministry; that the present administration will not want the concurrence and support of Parliament in

[44] Prov. XXI. 1. "The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord, as the rivers of water; he turneth it whithersoever he will."

any plan, which they have adopted; that you will have a large army on the Continent in the spring, who will not act merely upon the defensive, as this year; and that the hardships and distresses we have already suffer'd, are small in comparison of those, we may be obliged to suffer, if we continue still determined on opposition, and should not happen to prove successful. Believe me, however, that I take not the least pleasure and satisfaction, in telling you of these things.

I thank you, and whoever joins with you, in wishing for my conversion. The best I can wish in return for you, for my friends, and for my countrymen in general is that they could be as firmly persuaded as I am of the destructive tendency of their present measures, and felt as peaceably inclined as I do.

I would write to my Mamma and Polly by this opportunity, but know not how far it is a good one, and have nothing indeed agreeable to say to them. Politics are a melancholy subject to me; to them it must be much more so. Had I foreseen every circumstance that has happened, perhaps I should not have left you. At present, I can do no good by returning, tho' I should not hesitate at once to exchange Old England for New, were the latter in a quiet state. London affords me very little amusement. As to plays and public places, I do not frequent them. If it was not for the care of a small congregation at a little distance, which has furnished my mind with some employment of late, I should be very discontented.

Tell Betsy I want to see her again. Remember me to all my friends at Salem, Weymouth, Waltham, or anywhere else. Assure them that I feel deeply concerned for them. Please to let Mr. Barnard, Mr. Gannett, and my friends Parsons and Elliot know, that I look upon myself as under great obligation to them for their favours, and shall endeavour to return them, as soon as possible. I am, dear Billy, your very affect. brother

Is. Smith jr.

Addressed: To Mr. William Smith, Salem.

Elizabeth Smith to Rev. Isaac Smith, Jr.

Salem, October 28, 1775.

Dear Isaac, — I sit down to write tho' I don't know whether I shall have any opportunity to send it to you; at a time when I had almost given over hearing from you or ever seeing you again, (as their was no Vesell expected here,) I received your thrice Wel-

come letters by the way of Nantucket. I am glad to hear you had so agreable a Voyage and that your Friends so kindly renewed their acquaintance with you, and hope you will always behave in such a manner as to merit the esteem of the Vertuous and good.

I thank you for the kind concern and tenderness you express for me in this time of general distress and calamity, which has and does still oftentimes greatly distres me; But I hope I shall be enabled to put my trust in that suprem Being who Governs the World, without whos premishon not a Sparrow can fall to the Ground: tho' Clouds and Darkness are round about him yet Justice and Judgement are the habitation of his Throne; and tho God is punishing of us for our sin against him and we deserve greater Judgments than have yet befallen us, yet I hope and belive he will yet appear for us as an injured and oppresed people; Such inhumanity, such cruelty, such open contempt of every thing Sacred, cannot go long unpunished.

We are yet in Salem but how soon we may be drove out I know not, we are in daily expectation of a Fleet which is sent out to distroy and burn all the seaports towns. they have begun at Falmouth where giveing them only one night to remove the Women and Children they distroyed near half the town. What will be the end of these things God only knows: O may we but be more weaned from this World and quickened in our preparations for Heaven happy shall we be hear and happy hereafter.

Can the people in Great Briton think such proceadings will tend to reconcile the differences betwen us, or rather have they not a tindency to increce them: you say it is the general desire and wish of the people to be on good terms with us again, But is it posiable we can belive them sincere in their wishes when they can sit still and quiet and see the Wonton abuse of Minnisterial power exerted against Millions I may say of innocen people, who are condemned unheard; whilst arms are put into the hands of the Roman Catholicks and they have been trying to sit the Canadians and Indians upon our backs; (but Providence has appeared for us and they have refused to fight against us) And for what is all this unheard of cruelty and barbarity for, because we deny thay have a right to take our property without our consent, but I forbear, I did not intend to write upon politicks.

I am sorry to hear you are not so well, as when you left us but hope the Country air will prove serviceable to your health, through a kind providence, we have injoyed a large share of health, tho, it has been a very sickly dying time in all the Country towns rounds us, but the inhabitants that came out of Boston have

been remarkably healthy: Dear Sister Smith quited this mortal state for a better the 1 instant after a short but painfull illness which she bore with great calmness and resignation. O may we be followers of them who through faith and patience inherit the promises: the rest of the familey are well. Some of our good friends are yet detained in Boston, particularly Dr. Mather,[45] Dr. Elieot, Deacon Newall,[46] Col. Jackson, Col. Marshall,[47] Maj. Phillips,[48] Mr. Scolay,[49] Mr. Austin.[50]

Your Uncle Storer [1] has been twice to see us since he came out of Boston he has lived at Needham but has latly moved I know not wether, he has placed one of his Sons at Concord College the other at Dummer School, his 2 Daughters are yet in boston; [2] Dr. Cooper is preaching at Watertown. I have seen him but once since I have been at Salem. your two Aunt Greens remain where they were when you left us. Mr. Payne and his familey with Mrs. Newall are gone to live at Waltham. O these cruel separations, when will that happy time come when we shall return to worship God together in his Temple here below; but O that these dispensations of his providences may serve to fit us for the worship of his Temple above, where there is no more sin nor any more sorrow. You will see by the publick prints they have got one Morrison [3] an infamous fellow a Scotch deserter from the Hamshire Regiment, to ridicule religion in Dr. Coopers Meeting house, but their evil doings will come upon there one heads.

The Rev. Mr. Adams [4] of Roxbury is dead and Mr. How, and the last accounts we had of Mr. Hunt [5] he was not like to live. Help Lord for the Godly man ceaseth the faithfull fail from the Children of men. Give my love to Mrs. Green tell her I am sorry she is not so happy as I wish her and all my Friends to be. remember me to Mrs. Copley, Mrs. Calef, and all my other friends.

[45] Samuel Mather (1706–1785).

[46] Thomas Newell, deacon of St. Andrew's Lodge.

[47] Thomas Marshall, a Son of Liberty.

[48] John Phillips (d. 1787) son of George. He married Mary, daughter of Adam Winthrop.

[49] John Scollay (1745–1775), a Son of Liberty.

[50] Samuel Austin.

[1] Ebenezer Storer (1750–1807).

[2] Charles (1761–1829) and George (1764–1838); Elizabeth (b. 1756), married John Atkinson, and Mary (b. 1769), married Seth Johnson.

[3] William Morison of Roxbury, a private in Captain Sylvanus Walker's company, Col. Timothy Danielson's regiment.

[4] Amos Adams (1728–1775). He married Sarah, daughter of Charles and Elizabeth (Hirst) Chauncy.

[5] John Hunt (1744–1775), of Northampton.

I am glad to hear you still retain so great an affection for your Native Country and hope it will incline you to return to us again. I can't bear the thought it should be otherways. Pray write by every Oppertunity and let me know how you are imployed and what you intend to do: I make no doubt you are daily looking up to the throne of grace, that God would direct you to that, which will be most for his Glory and the advancement of his Kingdom and intrest in the World, and when you are at the throne of Grace interceeding for your self, forget not to pray for your distresed friends and Country, and O may we at last meet and joine our Prayers and Praieses togeather is the sincere desire of your Affectionate Mother,

ELIZABETH SMITH.

Addressed: To Mr. Isaac Smith junr, London.

ALEX. CHAMPION TO ISAAC SMITH.

LONDON 23d Novemr. 1775.

SIR, — I duely received your esteem'd favour of the 27th August and it gives me a sensible pleasure to observe that you are willing to accept the office of Treasurer to the New England Company, agreeable to their appointment, as I am fully perswaded you will fulfill the duties of that station with reputation to yourself, benefit to the persons beneficially to be interested therein, and satisfaction to the company here. You will therefore no doubt settle with Mr. Phillips, and get all the necessary Books and papers deliver'd to you, by which I apprehend you will soon see the plan already established by your board, and thereby be enabled to conduct yourself accordingly in any future payments. I have now to acquaint you that in consequence of two Letters address'd to our Secretary, from Mr. Gideon Hawley, one of our Missionaries lately come to hand wherein he expresses great concern, that our Commissioners were dispersed over the country, and thereby the Salaries usually paid, were or might be held for a time, the Governor thought proper to call a general court on the 10th inst. to consult what might be proper to be done: when the following resolutions were pass'd Viz.

Resolved the present disturbed situation of affairs in America rendering a meeting of the Company's Commissioners there impracticable that the Governor be desired to write to Mr. Isaac Smith the Company's Treasurer in New England, and request of

him to pay to the Companys several Missionaries and Schoolmasters abroad (he being satisfied they performed their respective duties) their respective Salaries or such parts thereof as he shall be able without waiting for the orders of the board of Commissioners there.

Resolved. in order that the said Mr. Isaac Smith shall be no sufferer by the loss of the difference of Exchange that the Exchange shall be settled by him in conjunction with any other Gentleman of the Board as was formerly done when Remitances were made in Bills.

Resolved. on Account of the present disturbed situation of affairs in America that the several Remitances be for the present suspended.

You will therefore conduct yourself accordingly, as the Gentlemen are very desirous the design of the Institution, shou'd be impeded as little as possible, and whatever sums you may advance, may be placed in account with my house and upon your advice thereof, shall be pass'd to your credit, in conformity. You will observe by the second resolution that I have taken care you sho'd not be injured by the difference of exchange. This mode had been adopted as the most eligible, and is indeed the only one that cou'd be thought on effectually to answer the purpose, for, as to drawing bills, at present it is uncertain where our friends are to be found, or whether it might be convenient for them to pay any bills, and as to sending specie, it is absolutely impracticable, we therefore doubt not you will concur with the design of the company in adopting this mode, which is merely to prevent any distress arising to the missionaries if their Salaries shou'd be witheld. Your Son is now settled at a little distance from Town (about 12 miles) and is to be employed every Lords Day for some few months to come. I am happy in acquainting you that his services are acceptable to the Society, and hope he will make a useful Minister. Any services that myself or any branch of our house can render him will chearfully be done. I remain

ALEX. CHAMPION

ISAAC SMITH, JR., TO ISAAC SMITH, SR.[6]

ENFIELD, near LONDON, Decr. 4. 1775.

DEAR SIR, — The last time of my writing to you was toward the end of Octo. when I sent two or three letters (one for my

[6] Intercepted letter in Public Record Office, London (C. O. 5. 40.), found by Mr. Ford.

brother) by a private hand going to Casco Bay. Parliament had then met, and if I am not mistaken I inclosed a copy of the K[ing]'s speech. The hints thrown out in it have since been fully adopted. The K. is empowered to call out the militia of the kingdom for its security, if he pleases, during the absence of the standing forces. *Twenty-five thousand* men or more are to be in A[merica] in the spring, and *seventy* sail of men of war to line our coast. A bill is passing to prohibit all intercourse with the Colonies, and authorizing the K to appoint Commissioners for the purpose of granting either general or particular pardons, opening the port of Boston, and restoring the whole of our trade and fishery upon such submission made to them, as they may think fit to accept. The land-tax is raised 1/ higher in the pound, which will produce half a million extra for the service of the year. The ministry carry every thing they propose, *two to one*. The minority last week was reduced to *ten*, on a motion of their own. Among the Lords, the D. of Grafton, whom we have all along considered as deeply concerned in the system pursued of late years, has at length openly avowed himself in opposition, and with him the Bp. of Peterborough, and a few more of his connections, have added to the minority. In consequence of this the D. has lost a lucrative sinecure, which he held, the privy seal, which is given to Lord D[artmouth], who is succeeded in the American Department by Lord G. Sackville Germaine, famous in the last war. He is said to be a man of great property, and respected for his abilities, but no advocate for the colonies.

Notwithstanding these matters, however, I have felt less anxious and apprehensive for the fate of my Country, since the meeting of Parliament, than for some time before. The temper of both Houses appears more pacific than I had feared it would be, from the general voice of the Kingdom. I am not single in my opinion, that the majority in each do not wish to prosecute a war with us, but only to get rid of so ruinous a dispute on as honourable terms, as they can. It is generally understood, that the idea of raising a revenue by parliamentary authority will be given up, and a scheme of this sort never again attempted. The Colonies may have security on this head, if they ask it, on condition of their agreement to contribute in their own way, upon requisitions or of granting something to the Crown, in lieu of the duties imposed on them. This point, it is said, will be insisted on, previous to any further concession. The large force to be sent out is not to act, but in case we totally refuse to comply with any proposals, that may be made to us; it is intended chiefly to give weight to

the Commissioners, who will probably be vested with discretionary powers, to bring the dispute to a speedier issue. Lord Mansfield openly declares his sorrow that any revenue acts were ever passed, but pleads in answer to Lord Camden and others, that at the time of making these laws they made no objection to them, nor even to the B[oston] Port Bill. Nova Scotia, in consequence of the Assembly's complying with Lord N[orth]'s motion of last February, is allowed to import wine and fruit directly into Halifax, without carrying them to Falmouth. I am sorry to find that not a word is said as yet of restoring our old mode of government, but I do not despair of some amendment in the act for altering our Charter, if not of an entire repeal of it, tho' it may not be done this session.

The last petition of the C[ongress] was laid before the H. of Lords, and Mr. Penn examined at the bar. The D[uke] of G[rafton] moved a resolution, that this petition contained ground of reconciliation, but it was not agreed to, nor anything else done in regard to it.

As the sending Hanoverian forces to Gibraltar and Minorca was accused as illegal, a bill went through the lower house to indemnify the advisers of this measure; but when it was sent to the upper, it was opposed equally by the members of administration and the opposition, and rejected upon different motives unanimously.

The gout has hitherto kept Lord Chatham in silence at his retirement in the country. Gov. Pownall sides with the ministry. I have had one opportunity, and but one, of being in the gallery of the H. of C. and have heard the principal speakers on both sides. Of late the doors have been shut. Without doors, the people are divided as before. I do not hear of any general complaint of the failure of any one branch of manufacture, tho' a Lord, who lives in the neighbourhood of the nail-manufacture, told the House the other day, that it would soon want support. The subscription for the encouragement and relief of the men employed in America goes on with great success. The sum of Twelve thousand pounds is already collected, and a much larger is expected, as subscriptions are opened in other places, besides L[ondon].

I have lived of late at this place, which is very pleasant in summer, and have the pleasure of being connected with a few agreeable families, with whom I pass my time as contentedly as I could anywhere, while the present controversy is subsisting. I would fain persuade myself, that it cannot last another year.

It is now some time since I have heard from Salem, except by

the way of B[oston]. I hope by some way or another to receive a line from you, Sir, in the course of the winter. Please to remember me to my Mother, to my brother and sisters, etc. I remain, Sir, with the utmost duty and affection,

IS. SMITH, JR.

P.S. A request has been made to the Irish H. of C. to allow 4000 more of the troops in that Kingdom go to A[merica] in British pay, to be replaced, if desired, by many Hanoverians. Inclosed is a copy of the subscription above mentioned.

Please to inform Mr. Sam. Elliott, if you see him, of the sudden death of one of his friends, Mr. Robt. Wilson, by a fall from his house.

JANUARY MEETING, 1926.

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, the 14th instant, 1926, at three o'clock, P.M., President MOORE in the chair.

The record of the December meeting was read and approved.

The President announced that two officials of the Society were to be absent in Europe for several months, Mr. Ford, the Editor, going for research in the archives at London and elsewhere, for material relating to New England, and Professor Merriman, the Corresponding Secretary, going as Exchange Professor from Harvard University to the Sorbonne at Paris.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Mrs. James Barr Ames, a letter written by Chief Justice John Marshall to Judge Dabney Carr (1773–1837) on June 26, 1830.

From Charles E. Goodspeed, a copy of a letter by John Adams to Mrs. Adams, and two contemporary copies of a letter written to James Warren, Philadelphia, July 24, 1775, — being the famous intercepted letters.

From Nathaniel Arthur Sparhawk, the account-book of Edward Willis, of Kingston, Mass., 1857–1899, containing his list of Indian words with meanings in English.

From Charles Mason Remey, of Washington, D.C., Reminiscences, compiled by him, of his father, Rear-Admiral George Collier Remey, and of his mother, Mary Josephine Mason Remey, typewritten, with photographic illustrations.

From Walter Gilman Page, by deposit from the Massachusetts Society, Sons of the Revolution, his records as historian of that Society, Vol. II, 1906–1923.

From George L. Osborn, of Brookline, by deposit, a Bible, London, 1683, containing the family records of the Barber and Farnham families, entered by Nathaniel Barber, Jr.

From Miss Mary S. Parker, by deposit, three letters from Samuel Adams, March 18, 1777, Benedict Arnold, Feb. 19, 1779,

and John Singleton Copley, June 23, 1788, written to Mercy Scollay; also deeds and papers relating to the Seaver property in Roxbury, 1672–1813.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Mrs. Sarah Madden, of Natick, Mass., the medal in honor of the golden jubilee of Rev. Michael Francis Delaney (1875–1925), pastor for thirty-six years of St. Patrick's Parish in Natick.

From Dr. Frederick C. Shattuck, a photograph of Robert Traill Spence Lowell (1816–1891) to be added to the group of pupils of Round Hill School previously given by him.

From George G. Wolkins, two photographs of the Bussey Bridge disaster on the Boston and Providence Railroad, March 14, 1887, taken by Partridge, Boston; and a print of Richard Gridley's Plan of Louisburg, 1745.

From Mrs. George Lane, of Winthrop, a piece of Continental Currency, seven dollars, September 26, 1778.

From Frank W. Bayley, a framed photograph of Copley's painting of John Hancock, half length, wearing a white wig, and coat and waistcoat heavily embroidered.

From Miss Mary S. Parker, by deposit, a small embroidered screen worked by Mercy Scollay about 1775.

Professor MUNRO read a paper on

GREYSOLON DULUTH: KING OF THE VOYAGEURS.

The thousands of Frenchmen who traded with the Indians of the middle west and the upper lake region during the years preceding the expulsion of France from Canada were commonly known as *coureurs de bois*. Although they formed a large element in the population of French Canada, and did business amounting to huge sums, these coureurs de bois never had a regular organization, never associated themselves into companies or pooled their profits, and indeed never had a recognized leader. The trade with the western Indians was a matter of every man for himself, or at best an enterprise in which two partners might engage. All the trading licenses granted by the government at Quebec were individual licenses. Companies were established for buying

the furs after they came down to the St. Lawrence and for shipping them to France, but no company was ever organized for prosecuting trade in the interior. Projects for the organization of such companies were set afoot from time to time, but the authorities never viewed them with favor.

The home government in France, as a matter of fact, never looked upon the fur trade with any enthusiasm. It was a troubler in Israel, a bone of contention among the colonists. Its one redeeming feature, as they saw it, was the revenue which the trade produced. In all its other features the fur traffic of the upper lakes seemed to be a source of weakness to the colony on the St. Lawrence. The home government saw in it an obstacle to the development of agriculture, a mere transitory source of wealth that would vanish in a comparatively few years. Time and again stern warnings came from Paris to the effect that the colonists ought to raise more grain and do less peddling, but these warnings passed unheeded. As it later turned out, the home authorities were right. New France wasted its energies in chasing a mirage.

Among the coureurs de bois, during the heyday of the fur trade, were many picturesque figures. Many of them have given their names to thriving cities and towns in the Middle West of today. Bedouins of the forest, they never had any outstanding leader; but the one who came nearest to deserving that title, in the closing quarter of the seventeenth century, was Greysolon DuLuth, whose name is perpetuated in the city at the head of Lake Superior. The personal attractiveness of this man, his reputation for honesty, his courage, his hardihood as an explorer, and his long experience in the western wilderness combined to give him a powerful influence with Indians and traders alike. Nearly all the chronicles of his time mention him in one way or another as "king of the voyageurs," and Charlevoix goes so far as to rank him as the bravest among the many brave men who served the French king in the western world.

Yet we know very little about DuLuth, for even when all these incidental compliments are pieced together they scarcely afford us the outlines of a biography. They touch only the high places of his career and we are left to surmise what may have happened in the intervals. Like most of his fellow

traders DuLuth has left us almost nothing about himself. His unremitting activities in trade, exploration, and border warfare gave him little time for writing chronicles or keeping a journal. A short memoir, dated 1685, in which he vigorously defends himself against a charge of trading clandestinely with the English, and one long letter concerning western affairs are the only things that have come down to us from his own hand. One of the earliest manuscript maps of the region between Lake Superior and the head-waters of the Mississippi, still preserved in the Paris archives, is presumed to have been made by him, or at any rate prepared from data which he furnished. We have his last will, penned by a notary. It speaks of a diary covering the years 1696–1698, written during the winters when he was marooned in charge of the little garrison at Cataraqui. But the diary itself has never come to light.

His avowed enemies, chief among whom was the Intendant Duchesneau, wrote a good deal about him in dispatches sent home to the king and his ministers. Likewise the Jesuit missionaries, who abhorred the coureurs de bois and all their works, gave him an unfavorable mention now and then in the *Rélations*. Parkman, who searched diligently for material relating to DuLuth, could find basis for no more than a couple of pages and a footnote.[1]

Unlike most of his fellow-traders in New France, Greysolon DuLuth was not of Norman blood. He was born at St. Germain-en-Laye, probably about 1650; the exact date is not on record. He had a strain of Italian blood in his veins and his immediate family belonged to the lesser nobility of France, to the class which gave the Bourbon realm so many of its intrepid military officers. His mother was the daughter of Jacques Patron, a well-to-do merchant of Lyons, whose son later developed trading interests in Canada and was for a time resident there. Young DuLuth entered the French army and was presently transferred to the king's bodyguard (*garde du Roy*).

After a few years of military service DuLuth sailed for Canada; the precise date cannot be fixed but it was prior

[1] *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West* (Frontenac edition), 274–275.

to 1674, for he is recorded among the communicants at the Hôtel Dieu at Montreal in the spring of that year. Why he abandoned a promising military career for a life in a pioneer land, no one knows In all probability, however, he was influenced by the fact that he had several relatives already in Canada and by the further fact that these, being well intrenched in official favor, were making large profits from the fur trade. His own brother, Greysolon de la Tourette, had gone to Canada some years before. Tonty, the friend and chief lieutenant of La Salle, was his cousin. Louvigny, another prominent colonist, was his brother-in-law. So he was not without friends in the New World.

At any rate he came, but after a short sojourn went back to France again, for he is listed among those leaving in the autumn of 1674. Not for long, however, because he was at Quebec once more in 1676 and this time he came to stay. Unlike most of the well-born young Frenchmen who came to the St. Lawrence in those days, DuLuth did not ask to be given a tract of land and made a seigneur. His interest was quickly diverted to the western fur trade and within a short time he was on his way to the head of Lake Superior. His first trip to this country was completed in 1678. It resulted in the establishment of a trading post at the point where the town of Fort William now stands and marked the most westward point at which the French had established headquarters down to this date.

We are accustomed to think of the French as having from first to last made the Mississippi and its tributaries the goal of their crusading ambitions, and it is true that they recognized the strategic value of this great waterway long before the English appreciated it. But the route to the Gulf of Mexico was not the only great route of trade which the French were anxious to control. They had their eyes not only on the southern Gulf but on Hudson Bay as well. They were equally anxious to shut out the English from these northern regions also. Their general conception, based upon the inadequate geographical knowledge of the time, was that Hudson Bay and the Gulf of Mexico formed two great terminals for trade and for contact with Europe; that these two terminals were virtually connected by waterways; and

that the whole stretch could be tapped in the center by two water routes to Quebec, one by way of the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence, the other by way of the Ottawa River. It was a great conception, if not an altogether accurate one geographically, and in a day when water routes were the easiest arteries of trade one can see how readily this one would appeal to men whose imagination was Gallic in its grandeur.

This was a fundamental fault in French colonial policy during the seventeenth century — too much imagination, conceptions that were too far-reaching, ambitions that could not be realized without an expenditure of energy far beyond what France could spare, dreams that could not possibly come true. The English, on the Atlantic seaboard, were more practical in their turn of mind, more restrained in their ambitions, and had a better sense of realities. In the end they accomplished more.

DuLuth's first voyage to the upper lakes was designed to give the French a hold on the region which lies between Lake Superior and Lake Nipegon, the first stretch on the way to the northern terminal in Hudson Bay. This is shown by the fact that the second trading post established by his expedition, known as Fort la Tourette, was in the country of the Crees bordering Lake Nipegon. DuLuth also assembled a great council of the northern Indians, including the Crees and the Assiniboines. This meeting, in September, 1679, was held at the western extremity of Lake Superior and must have been at or near the spot now occupied by the city which bears his name. Out of this assembly grew a firm and lasting friendship between the French and the northern Indians.

After three whole years spent at the head of the lakes, DuLuth returned to Quebec where he made his report and then, in 1682, went for a brief visit to France. Why he went is not altogether clear but it was not improbably to answer charges, made in his absence, that he and others had made illicit profits by diverting some of the lake trade to the English at Albany. The Intendant at Quebec had sent home such accusations to France in one of his memoirs a year or two before. He charged that sixty thousand pounds of beaver had been sold to English traders and then added,

rather significantly, that "although proof of this cannot be sent to you, it is a notorious fact."

DuLuth presently returned from France and was soon in his old haunts again. It was about this time that he managed to assert, by a bold and timely stroke, his status as a leader among the voyageurs. Several small bodies of traders, as it happened, had been set upon by bands of Indians along the lakes and their supplies stolen. But until 1683 the attackers had not ventured to do more than steal. They were content with plunder. In that year, however, two well known voyageurs were set upon, robbed and murdered. This was indeed a challenge to French prestige along the trading routes. DuLuth at this time was serving as commandant at Mackinac and hence felt himself responsible for the suppression of forest banditry in this region. Evidence pointed to four Indians, one of them the chief of his tribe. An expedition of Frenchmen and friendly Indians was sent from Mackinac to get them by surprise and bring them back, which it succeeded in doing. DuLuth then assembled all the Indians within reach, gave the culprits a formal trial, pinned the guilt on three of them and condemned them to death. One, being a mere youth, was pardoned; the other two were promptly executed.

The episode made a deep impression upon the Indians of the west. It showed that while bands of Indians might use the tomahawk on one another, they must leave Frenchmen alone. Had DuLuth allowed this affront to pass or had he failed in courage when it came to imposing the supreme penalty, the life of every trader west of Niagara would have been in peril. As it was, his action saved the day. It is an amazing thing that although thousands of French traders and missionaries spent year after year in the western forests the number of those who lost their lives through Indian assault or treachery is very small. More Frenchmen were killed by the Iroquois in attacks on the settled portions of the colony than by the western Indians at the various trading posts or along the trade routes.

During the next half dozen years DuLuth was active in a number of enterprises. He commanded a war party in a reconnoitering expedition against the Five Nations. He was

with the two hundred picked voyageurs who piloted the great fur flotilla of 1693 from Mackinac to Montreal. This flotilla represented the greatest cargo of beaver ever brought from the West in a single year. It was valued at more than a million livres. Shortly thereafter DuLuth was placed by Governor Frontenac in command of the fort at Cataraqui, where Lake Ontario joins the St. Lawrence, this being deemed the most vulnerable spot in the whole trading route between the upper lakes and Quebec. It was the point at which both Iroquois and English might most easily intercept the descending canoes. Moreover, this fort was to serve as a base for a projected French expedition into the country of the Onondagas and Frontenac wanted a dependable lieutenant in charge of it. The success of the expedition, in 1696, was in considerable measure due to DuLuth's preparations.

Remaining for a time as commandant at Cataraqui, he was later transferred to the fort at Detroit where he served in command of the garrison until 1707, when he became incapacitated by the increasing severity of rheumatism and asked to be retired. The request was granted and at the governor's suggestion a royal pension was given him.

DuLuth now returned to Montreal in 1707 and lived there the remaining three years of his life. Like most of his fellow traders, he had failed to make a fortune out of beaver skins. When he first set forth for the wilds in 1678, a vigorous young man of less than thirty, he was possessed of a competence. He had a comfortable home with rich and influential friends around him. Now after a quarter century of unremitting service he came back, broken in health, his hair white with age and hardship, to take modest lodgings and to live his remaining days a royal pensioner. His old-time friends were gone. Patron, his uncle, was dead and, by the way, DuLuth had been heavily indebted to him when he died. His brother, La Tourette, who inherited Patron's estate, had gone back to France. His brother-in-law, Louvigny, had passed away; Henri de Tonty was in his grave; Alphonse de Tonty was at Detroit. In the little social world at Montreal things had changed mightily in three decades.

DuLuth died during the night of February 25, 1710, and was buried in the little church of the Récollets, which stood

at what is now the corner of Notre Dame and St. Helen streets in Montreal. His will is in the notarial archives. It gave small legacies to the religious orders, a modest bequest to his landlord, and some personal belongings to his friends in France. These latter included his silverware, his scarlet cloak, his cravats and perukes, together with his big world atlas and a five-volume edition of Josephus. Governor Vaudreuil, in announcing his death to the king added a laconic eulogy: "He was a very honest man." In a day when many of those who served the royal master in New France were so skilled in all the arts of crookedness, this was tribute enough. The colony could ill afford to lose a very honest man.

But in addition to sterling honesty DuLuth had many other qualities which entitle him to a place of honor among the sturdy pioneers of the west. He was a man of great personal courage and resourcefulness. With the firmness of a soldier and the suavity of a diplomat, he had qualities which never failed to impress the red man. No one could have been more loyal to his king or more faithful to his friends. He achieved much, yet he was singularly modest about it all. In his brief memoir there is not a trace of egotism or bravado. This self-effacement was rare in his generation and especially rare among men of his vocation. Left to his own initiative, DuLuth showed good judgment on many difficult occasions and worthily earned his title as "king of the voyageurs." [2]

[2] In addition to the brief memoir and the letter above referred to, there are references to DuLuth and his work in several of the dispatches sent home to the Minister of Marine in France by the colonial officials, chiefly in those of Frontenac and Duchesneau. Incidental references also appear in the works of Charlevoix, La Hontan, Hennepin, and Le Clerc, as well as in the Jesuit *Rélations*. There are several biographical sketches of DuLuth, mostly of the popular sort. Among these may be mentioned C. W. Colby's "Du Lhut, the Coureur de Bois," in his *Canadian Types of the Old Régime* (New York, 1908), pp. 185–228; T. W. Hugo's "Daniel de Gresolon, Sieur Dulhut," in Woodbridge and Pardee's *History of Duluth and St. Louis County* (Duluth, 1910), vol. 1, pp. 28–50; William McLennan's article on "A Gentleman of the Royal Guard" in *Harper's Magazine*, vol. lxxxvii, pp. 609–626; E. D. Neill's "Du Lhut," in his *History of Hennepin County and the City of Minneapolis* (Minneapolis, 1881), pp. 9–17; a brief sketch in the Minnesota Historical Society's *Collections*, vol. 1, pp. 314–318 (1872); and a chapter on "Daniel de Gresolon, Sieur Duluth" in Walter Van Brunt's *Duluth and St. Louis County* (Duluth, 1921), vol. 1, pp. 20–36.

Dr. NICHOLS read a paper on

THE VARIOUS FORMS OF THE COLUMBUS CODEX.

The *New York Times* of October 29th, 1925, announced that the Spanish Government was about to purchase from the Duke of Veragua the collection of documents of Christopher Columbus in his possession. This step was taken in order to preserve for Spain these important memorials of her past for which the Duke had been offered more than double the sum which he has consented to receive from his own country. As this is the larger of the only two collections of importance in private hands it seems worthy of notice in the United States, the other nation most interested in this transaction.

It will, therefore, be not inappropriate to enquire who is this Duke, what are these documents and what others of identical interest are known?

On January 9, 1503, during his third voyage, Columbus reached that portion of the mainland now known as Panama, and north of the present Canal Zone found a river which he named Belem. A few miles north of this another river was discovered which he called Veragua, from the Indian name of the neighboring country, a name which still belongs to that region now a province of Panama. Columbus decided to establish a settlement here, because of a report that gold mines existed in the neighboring mountains. Finding that the Belem river was more navigable he left Bartholemew Columbus, his brother, with eighty colonists to build a town, to be called Veragua, on its shores. Houses were erected and the settlement begun, the first established on our continent, although it was finally abandoned for a more favorable location.

Don Luis Colon, the grandson of Christopher, who inherited the title of third admiral and viceroy of the Indies, relinquished that title in 1536 and by a decree of the Court being given choice between Duke of Jamaica or Veragua he accepted the title of first Duke of Veragua, the title of Marquis of Jamaica being added in later years. Having no male heirs and his two daughters dying without issue, the title passed to his brother, Cristoval Colon, and his descendants,

through whom the present Duke has inherited the title and the many documents once belonging to his famous ancestor.

In 1893, the father of the present Duke, who died in 1910, was invited by the President of the United States to come to this country and exhibit his documents at the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago, $50,000 being devoted to his entertainment during that period. These documents, 57 of which the Duke brought here, contained many of the original grants to Columbus by the Sovereigns of Spain, before his voyages, his will and many letters by or to him, one in particular being a memorandum concerning his arrest and imprisonment at the end of his third voyage with a declaration of his innocence of the charges made against him.

The most important of these documents is the original grant, dated April 30, 1492, making him Don, Admiral, Viceroy and Governor of the lands which he might discover. Other grants, commissions and Royal letters patent followed this from time to time which explained, amplified and enforced his titles, rights and emoluments, many of which are in this collection.

But his path was not destined to be one of smooth sailing, for on his second voyage murmurs of discontent among the settlers and their friends at home developed to such an extent that Columbus was fearful lest his powers might be diminished or even retracted and he determined to gather together, as evidence of these rights, copies of all the documents relating to these gifts of his sovereigns.

At his request they issued an order, on April 23rd, 1497, which reads: "Francis de Soria, Lieutenant of our High Admiral of Castile, we command you to give and to cause to be given to Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the Ocean, a copy, so authenticated as to obtain credence, of any letters of grace and privileges and confirmations which the said high admiral holds, . . . for we have granted to the said Don Christopher Columbus the favor of having and enjoying the graces and honors &c in the Admiralty in the Indies which our said High Admiral has, holds and enjoys in the Admiralty of Castile."

But the troubles of Columbus did not cease with this broad charter for while he was on his third voyage, Bobadilla was

sent to New Spain to investigate the many charges made against him with the result that his papers and documents were taken from him and he was sent home in chains. This act showed to Columbus that he and his family would have no evidence for redress if these documents were destroyed, and to protect himself further on January 5, 1502, he caused copies to be made by three public notaries in the presence of two Alcaldes of Seville who examined the originals and certified to their genuineness.

Four copies were made, three on parchment and one on paper, each being certified to and attested by the Alcaldes and the notaries. The originals were then placed in a chest and deposited in the monastery of Las Cuevas, situated across the river from Seville, where they remained until removed about 1578 by Don Cristoval de Cardona y Colon and eventually passed into the possession of the present Duke. This is the history of these original documents, some of which have disappeared, but many of which, with letters and memorials amounting to ninety-seven items, are now to become the property of Spain and which are once more to be exhibited, this time at an Exposition to be opened in that country in 1927 or 1928.

In reading these documents one cannot fail to be impressed by the fair and judicial character of them and the invariable acknowledgment by the Crown of the importance of Columbus' discoveries in spite of the importunities of enemies at home and in the new found lands.

Harassed by these enemies, imprisoned without just cause and looked upon as an alien, it is not surprising that Columbus developed a suspicious and exacting character. Even this fact however did not blot out of the mind of the strongly religious Queen the often expressed object of Columbus in his discoveries, the salvation, through the Catholic Faith, of the natives of the new world, and with patience for his shortcomings she saw to it that he had justice and adequate compensation so long as she lived.

To illustrate this fact let me read an extract from a letter written by the Crown, dated March 14, 1502: "and rest assured that we were much distressed about your imprisonment and you yourself perceived it clearly and it was well

known to all; for directly we were aware of it we ordered it to be remedied; and you know the favor with which we have always ordered you to be treated; and now we are much more inclined to honor you and treat you very favorably . . . and if it shall be necessary to confirm [our privileges] anew we will confirm them; and we will command that your son be put in possession of the whole."

These documents are the only original papers in private hands known to the public at the present time which were once the property of Columbus with the exception of those in the possession of the Duchess of Berwick and Alba, who is descended from the fourth daughter of Don Cristoval Colon. Her documents were reproduced in a handsome volume in 1892 for the Spanish celebration and later exhibited in Chicago in 1893.

The compilation of these documents, before spoken of, made for the protection of Columbus in 1502 in case of the loss or destruction of the originals, was termed the " Book of Privileges " and the later history of the four copies then made is full of human interest.

Because of the danger of travel in those days, two of them were sent in care of different persons and at different times to his personal friend, Nicolo Oderigo at Genoa his native city, to preserve for the benefit of his family; and they remained there in safety until 1670 when they were given by Lorenzo Oderigo to the city of Genoa.

No record of these two appears after this time until in 1805 at least one of them was seen by a French archeologist. In 1810 by order of Napoleon I one of these documents, the one seen by M. de Sacy, was sent with thousands of others from the various cities and countries conquered by that Emperor and placed in the archives of Paris. In 1880 this one was discovered in those archives by Henry Harrisse and he finally succeeded in securing permission to make a photographic copy which was published with translation and notes in 1893 and which is known as the Paris codex.

In 1816 the sale catalogue of the famous library of Count Cambiasco of Italy was found to contain the second Genoa codex, although no explanation of the reason for its being there has ever been discovered, and it was purchased by the

King of Sardinia and presented once more to the city of Genoa where it is now fittingly preserved.

The third codex was deposited, with the original documents in the monastery of Las Cuevas, but at some later time it disappeared, perhaps when Don Cristoval Colon in 1578 removed them by the authority of the Court.

In 1818 Edward Everett purchased for a small sum, of a beggar in Florence, a vellum manuscript, the contents of which he did not interpret until in 1823 the Genoa codex was published and he found his to resemble that in many particulars. Its value to history even then was not realized by him and the document was put away and forgotten until in 1898 it was discovered by his son, Dr. William Everett, in an old desk which had been the property of his father.

The book was sent to the British Museum for examination and finally sold for a nominal sum to the Library of Congress, where it is now carefully preserved. An interesting description of this codex and arguments to prove its identity with the lost Las Cuevas copy appeared in the *Critic* for 1903, written by Mr. Herbert Putnam, the efficient head of our national library.

An important fact relating to this codex, and the point on which Mr. Putnam's argument turns, is that Baldassare Columbus, one of the Italian claimants to the rights and titles of the family, offered in 1583 to the Court of the Indies a codex certified by Martin Rodriguez, one of the three notaries engaged by Columbus in 1502, as evidence of his relationship. As the other two copies were still in the hands of the Oderigo family it seems more than probable that that one was the Las Cuevas copy and further evidence proved the Everett copy to be the same.

This lawsuit, which began in 1578 upon the death of Don Diego, fourth Admiral and second Duke of Veragua, to determine the succession in the Columbus family when a branch ceased without issue, continued intermittently until in 1790 the Council of the Indies, the tribunal created to deal with all matters pertaining to the new world, decreed that the succession belonged to the family of the present Duke of Veragua.

The fourth copy, made on paper, was taken, on February 13, 1502, to the Indies by Carvajal, the official accountant of Columbus in Hispaniola, and while it has been asserted, according to Mr. Putnam, that the codex is now in the Veragua collection, no public confirmation has yet been made.

Three years ago a London dealer had for sale a manuscript consisting of 28 folio pages written on paper and containing parts of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 40th documents, but as neither its source nor history was noted, further account of it here is not possible.

The four complete copies consisted of thirty-five documents each, the thirty-fifth in each case bearing the authentication of the two Alcaldes of Seville with the signatures of the three notaries, as witnesses, and were dated January 5, 1502. Soon after March 14, Columbus received a letter from his Sovereigns with that date, a portion of which has been read. Evidently this letter seemed of so much importance to Columbus that he caused it, with eight others of related interest, to be added to the Genoa codices, making forty-four documents in these two. This new material was not placed in the paper copy as it had been already sent to Hispaniola on February 13, nor in the Las Cuevas copy, perhaps because it was to be left with the originals.

As the letter was authenticated on March 22, by the same three notaries of the previous authentication, and the handwriting of this latter portion is the same as of the first thirty-five, it is evident that the supplemental documents were considered of equal importance by Columbus and an integral part of the " Book of Privileges."

This explanation is given here because there is one more codex in existence, written on fifteen pages of paper, the contents of which show it to be an abridgement, rather than a fragment, of the larger document and intended for a different use.

It was originally in the library of the Marquess d'Altamira, was later in the collection of S. L. M. Barlow, in 1890 was purchased by John Nicholas Brown and is today in the John Carter Brown Library in Brown University. Unlike the larger codices consisting of forty-four documents, this is

made up of but seven, four however being from the nine supplemental documents, a fact which places the date of this codex at or after 1502.

These seven documents relate to the titles and emoluments granted to Columbus, the entail of them to his heirs, the letter of apology from his sovereigns and the opinions of his lawyers interpreting the capitulation, all of them documents of extreme personal interest to himself.

As these are stripped of the long perorations of courtly language and the involved legal phrases common to them all, and as they repeat only the bare facts, although in the exact language of the originals, it would seem that this codex was intended for his personal use rather than for the formal purposes of the others.

Henry Harrisse wrote, in 1871, concerning this codex, that, after comparing it with a number of documents in the Archivo General de Indias, it was decided by Don Diego de Paula Juarez and himself that the handwriting was that of Diego de Penalosa, one of the secretaries of the Queen. Letters are known to have been written by this man, one in Hispaniola in the year 1494, for Columbus and one, written in Seville to his son Diego Columbus, on February 25th, 1505, both of which point to business relations between them and the latter to their connection at this very period.

The codex itself also contains definite evidence of the approximate date of its preparation. Each of the seven documents which constitute this codex is preceded by a heading peculiar to this codex explaining its contents and the fifth reads, "here is set down part of a letter which his Highness the King ordered to be written to the Sir Admiral at the time of his departure on the voyage from which he now returns."

These last words imply that the probable date of the codex was soon after his landing, on November 7th, 1504, at the end of that, his last voyage.

The Duke of Veragua has a letter of Columbus, written to his friend Nicolo Oderigo of Genoa, on December 27th, 1504, which begins: "When I departed for the voyage from which I now come," a phrase so similar to the wording of the heading that it strengthens this argument regarding the date in question.

Broken in health and diminished in authority, Columbus was attacked within a few days of reaching Seville, by his old enemy, the gout, and at the same time learned of the death of his protector, the Queen.

Unable to move and recognizing that the court would now be unfavorable to the petitions he proposed to present, it is not unlikely that Columbus would desire some document at hand containing the necessary data with which to strengthen his case for these petitions and his letters relating to them, and across the river was Las Cuevas in which were preserved the original grants from which such data could be obtained.

The time, place and circumstance, all, point to this period as the date when this codex was prepared for his personal use and the John Carter Brown Library is fortunate to possess such an intimate reminder of the great Admiral, the significance of which is shown here for the first time.

No other codices or documents of Columbus are at present known to me, and the history of these above described has been traced in this brief way to recall their present location as well as to emphasize the great good fortune of Spain in the expected possession of the originals of these memorials of her historic past.

Letters of Alexander Hill.

Mr. Norcross presented and read two letters written by Alexander Hill, merchant, who lived in his mansion-house on Clark Street, to his son-in-law and daughter, Thomas and Rebecca Huse at Newbury, Mass. The earlier one relates to the Shays Rebellion. The second is about the plague then raging in Boston. Three days later Rev. John Lathrop preached a sermon on this epidemic which prevailed also in other seaports of America.

Boston 23d Feby 1787

Dear Sir

I have the pleasure to inform you from the best Authority, that the Men Intended to be raised here to go forward to General Lincoln, will not be wanted, or raised as He writes ye 20th Instant he can raise them where he is, & money has been sent him, & more will be sent to compleat that business — you may therefore be

quite easy that your proportion will not be wanted, & remember that money will Answer almost any demand. Sally & the whole lot of 'em are come to spend a day or two with us — my love to you both

Yrs Affectionately

ALEX. HILL

Monday Eveng 24 Sept 1798

Dear Daughter Rebh Huse

Saturday last I reced Mr. Enoch's Letter dated the 17th Instant at Newbury in which he informed me that he had a fine day to ride & got to your house I suppose before sunsett, & that his little ones stood the Ride better than he expected, but was himself much tired, but since he found himself much stronger than when he left Boston but was not quite so well, the day he wrote, I was much rejoiced to receive his Letter, I hope he has since been gathering Strength, & that this will find you all well. Mr. Everett[1] for a few days past has had a pretty bad turn of his Billious Complaint, but is we think better, the Baby has Also been very sick, but is much better today. The addition that Mr. Huse & his 3 Children will make to your family will be so considerable, that I think you ought in justice to your own Comfort, to get a good steady woman, to do a considerable part of your work, & to facilitate the same, I will most chearfully pay Twenty or Twenty five Dollars Pr Annum Wages towards it supposing that sum to be as much as any woman has amongst you. I am sorry to inform you that Mr. Edward Eddes my good neighbour this afternoon came out to procure a place to bring his family to, saying the number of New Cases was Fifty, many dead & adying, greatly beyond any preceeding time & the people preparing to remove & that the Docrs now call the disorder the Plague he seemed greatly alarmed, & indeed all the Accts we have had from day to day has been that the Disorder was increasing, God only knows what the final Issue will be — he mentioned that two had died in Charlestown — a very considerable number from Boston have taken up their residence in this Town & the other near Towns. I think we have all great cause of thankfullness that Enoch & his Dear little ones are so comfortably provided for & would wish him to make himself as Easy as he can, & assure yourselves of my most affectionate regards to you all

Yr. Father

ALEX. HILL

[1] Rev. Oliver Everett, father of Edward Everett, married a daughter of Mr. Hill.

Dr. FARLOW said:

The reference in the letter presented by Mr. Norcross is to an epidemic of yellow fever [2] which occurred in Boston in the summer of 1798. A similar outbreak had appeared at Newburyport in 1796, in which forty or more died, with a mortality of nearly seventy per cent. The first case was reported on June 16, soon after the arrival of a vessel from the West Indies on which several sailors had died of a putrid fever, the last case about the middle of October. This epidemic seems to have spared Boston.

It was commonly called the plague, a term which meant any severe devastating epidemic with a high mortality, and began on June 23 in the neighborhood of the wharf where a vessel from Port au Prince had recently arrived with the story of having had several cases of fever on the voyage. The summer was an unusually hot one and near the wharf and the adjoining market place was a large quantity of decomposing fish and hides, conditions which led to the rapid spread of the disease in that locality and to the south side of Fort Hill. It was generally fatal on the fourth or the fifth day, seldom after the seventh. Statistics are necessarily incomplete, but it seems well established that at least 300 died, not one in twenty of those who took the disease at first recovered, notwithstanding that 8,000, or more than one third of the inhabitants, fled from the city. The disease continued until October 22, when cold windy weather brought it to a close.

Boston was exempt until 1802, a similar outbreak appearing in the summer, with fifty deaths, apparently beginning soon after the arrival of a vessel from the West Indies on which there had been fever cases. Again in 1858 there were five cases in persons who had gone onto a vessel from the West Indies. Yellow fever was very common in that part of the world, in fact, it was seldom absent. From there as a source it had often spread to our southern states, and espe-

[2] Details of the yellow fever in Boston in 1798 are given with considerable fulness in a treatise on the nature, origin and progress of the yellow fever, with observations on its treatment; comprising an account of the disease in several capitals of the United States; but more particularly as it has prevailed in Boston. By Samuel Brown, M.B. Boston, 1800.

cially had Philadelphia suffered, so much so that at one time it seemed as if the whole city would be depopulated, so great was the terror of its fleeing inhabitants.

The investigations as to the cause of the disease, the theories, speculations, led to no other result than showing the desirability of cleanliness, until 1900, when Walter Reed and his ever-to-be-honored associates demonstrated that a mosquito, the stegomyia fasciata, was the carrier of the disease and that the extermination of the carrier put an end to the disease. It is a tropical and sub-tropical insect and its work in this latitude must be confined to the summer months. Hence the middle of October can safely be predicted as marking a time limit for its devilish activities.

Dr. ALLEN read a letter:

ELIAS PARKMAN TO EBENEZER PARKMAN.

BOSTON Feb. 8 1814.

DEAR FATHER

By Mr. Warfield I send 2 Gazettes. in one you will find an interesting communication respecting "*the Challenge,*" sent by Com. Stephen Decatur Commander of the United States Squadron at New London, to Com. Sir Thomas M. Hardy commander of the British Squadron off that place, proposing a "*meeting*" between the U. S. Frigates United States, Com. Decatur, and Macedonian, Capt. Jones, and the British Frigates Endymion Capt. Hope, and Statira Capt. Stackpole. I also send a copy of a letter fm Lieut. Clayton 2d of the *Macedonian* to his Father on the same subject. The Challenge was presented by Capt. Biddle, commander of the U. S. Sloop of War Hornet. since the challenge there has been a large fleet off New London, consisting of the Sceptre 74 Guns, Ad. Cockburn, Albion 74, Victorious 74, Ramilles 74, Sir Thomas M. Hardy, La Hogue 74 Guns, Endymion 40, Acata 40, Statira 38 Guns besides smaller Vessells. letters fm New London rec'd yesterday stated all the above mentioned Ships except one Frigate, had disappear'd. I am not without hopes the challenge will be excepted, altho' it was refused in the first Instance. if the war should continue and our Ships remain where they are now, they will certainly be distroyed before another Summer is over. I send you this days Centinel containing the great News fm Europe; dd.

I have pack'd a small Box of old Clothes wh. I shall send by Mr. Warfield if he can take them. In haste

E. P.

Endorsed: Mr. Elias Parkman, Milford. 3 letters.

The Alaska Boundary Award.

In the memoir of Senator Lodge by Mr. Washburn, printed in *Proceedings,* LVIII. 338, is given Mr. Lodge's account of his participation in forming the Convention on the Alaska boundary in 1903. This account came to the notice of Mr. James White, Technical Adviser of the Department of Justice of Canada, and a member of the Canadian representation in negotiating a settlement, who prepared and published in the *Canadian Historical Review,* VI. 332, a counter-statement. By the courtesy of Mr. White and the *Canadian Historical Review* this paper is reprinted in the *Proceedings,* as a presentation of historical and authoritative value. After quoting in full what Senator Lodge wrote Mr. White proceeds to say:

For a proper understanding of the more important statements in the above extract from Senator Lodge's memoir, it is necessary, first, to summarize the history of the Alaska boundary controversy from 1899 to 1903 and, second, in a review of Senator Lodge's statements, to correct some of his errors and to indicate wherein his statements illuminate certain phases of the negotiations.

The Joint High Commission appointed by Great Britain and the United States, "for the adjustment of questions at issue," respecting the relations of the latter with Canada and Newfoundland, met at Quebec and Washington between August 23, 1898, and February 20, 1899.

Following the failure to come to an agreement respecting the Alaska boundary, Lord Salisbury, on July 1, 1899, wrote to the Hon. Joseph H. Choate, United States ambassador at London, proposing that the Treaty of Arbitration adopted between Great Britain and Venezuela, February 2, 1897, "with the assent, and largely at the instance of the United States, shall be applied to the determination of the Alaska Boundary which is now under discussion."

The British government urged that "there is nothing in the Venezuelan Treaty which is inapplicable, or which would be inconsistent with an equitable solution of the Alaska controversy."

On August 2, 1899, Mr. Choate informed Lord Salisbury that the terms of the Venezuelan Treaty were "wholly inapplicable to the present subject of controversy, in which the issues are radically different."

In support of this novel proposition, he urged (1) that the Alaska boundary "was a new question, raised for the first time after the Joint High Commission had been agreed upon," whereas "in the case of Venezuela, the controversy originated a century and a-half ago, and had been in its entirety a subject of dispute and protest for sixty years;" (2) that the coast-line of the mainland "had been in the possession, or under the control, of Russia and the United States" since 1825, and that the settlements at the head of Lynn Canal "had been made with the authority, and under the jurisdiction of, the United States, without any protest or claim of territorial ownership on the part of Great Britain;" whereas, in the Venezuelan case, the British settlements were upon territory claimed by Venezuela and had been constantly protested by Venezuela.

Ignoring the fact that some of the foregoing statements were inaccurate, Mr. Choate must have felt some embarrassment in putting forward a proposition which, in addition to its novelty as an exposition of national title, was, in the last analysis, an argument that settlements in territory claimed by the United States, were entitled to greater recognition and protection than the United States' government considered should be accorded to British subjects who had settled in the area in dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela.

In addition, Mr. Choate, five months later, acknowledged that the Venezuela Treaty had enabled the tribunal to evolve a fair adjustment of the respective claims of Great Britain and Venezuela "out of the facts of discovery, occupation, and other historical circumstances in which their dispute as to the boundary had been involved for more than a century."

As the British government had not been able to obtain the assent of the United States to the reference to a tribunal constituted of an odd number of judges, on February 5, 1902, Lord Lansdowne instructed Lord Pauncefote that Great Britain was "willing to acquiesce in the proposed number of six, provided that at least one of the United States' arbitrators shall not be a citizen of the United States," and that at least one of the British arbitrators "shall not be a British subject."

On July 16, 1902, Lord Lansdowne wrote Mr. Raikes that "His Majesty's Government were given to understand that the Presi-

dent was not disposed to accept the Hay-Pauncefote draft as a basis." On August 18, he wrote Mr. Raikes that it was understood that "the President was not disposed to continue negotiations on the basis of Mr. Hay's draught."

The United States refused to agree to the British suggestion that the tribunal include two neutral arbitrators. On December 8, 1902, when discussing the composition of the tribunal with Mr. Hay, Sir Michael Herbert expressed the hope that "all the American members would be Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States." Mr. Hay "agreed with this view, but feared it would be difficult to carry out owing to the pressure of business before the Supreme Court, which could ill spare so many of its members at the same time."

In January, 1903, the British ambassador, Sir Michael Herbert, advocated strongly the appointment of three judges of the United States Supreme Court with the lord chief justice of England, the chief justice of Canada, and a judge of the British High Court on the British side, "as constituting a Tribunal commanding in the highest degree the confidence of all concerned."

On January 18, 1903, Sir Michael cabled Lord Lansdowne that Mr. Hay "said that he could only repeat what he had frequently intimated to me during the last three months, that the President [Roosevelt] was unable to accept any form of arbitration other than that proposed in the Treaty, and that the Senate would certainly decline to ratify any Treaty providing for the submission of the Alaska Boundary dispute either to the Hague Court or to foreign arbitration."

The Alaska Boundary Convention was signed at Washington, on January 24, 1903.

On February 14, Sir Michael Herbert learned from Mr. Hay that "the President would probably appoint, as the United States' Members of the Alaska Boundary Commission, Senators Lodge of Massachusetts and Turner of Washington, and the present Secretary of War, Mr. Root."

On expressing disappointment at the absence of any member of the Supreme Court, Mr. Hay stated to Sir Michael "that the President had wished to appoint Justices of the Supreme Court, but had been met with a refusal from all of them."

On February 21, Lord Minto cabled the Earl of Onslow that the Canadian government had "agreed to a Court of six members on the stipulation conveyed in the Treaty that members of said Court would be impartial jurists, and in the hope that Judges of the highest Courts in the United States would be appointed as

American Commissioners; " that Canada had also agreed that the " British Commissioners should be Judges of the highest standing; " and urged that, as this consideration had " been material in causing " Canada to assent to the Treaty, it should be made good.

On February 26, the Earl of Onslow cabled Lord Minto that " His Majesty's Government were as much surprised as your Ministers at the selection of the American members of the Tribunal; " that " it would be useless to press the United States to withdraw the names put forward, and arguments against the personal fitness of the three American representatives, however convincing, would fail to lead to any practical result."

On March 6, Lord Minto cabled the Earl of Onslow that the assent of the Canadian government " was obtained on the stipulation in the Treaty that the members of the Court would be impartial jurists of repute. . . . Their doubts as to the effectiveness of the contemplated arrangement as a means of settlement were in some degree modified by the assurance that the members of the Tribunal would approach the subject with unbiassed minds, and that a judicial interpretation of the Treaty of 1825 would be obtained. The appointment to the Tribunal by the United States' Government of gentlemen who are not Judges, and whose known views leave no room for expectation of a judicial consideration of the question, changes the whole situation."

For reasons that are fully set forth in Senator Lodge's memoir, it was impossible to obtain any concessions from the United States; and Lord Alverstone, Lord Chief Justice of England, Lieut. Govr. Jetté, and Mr. Justice Armour were appointed on behalf of Great Britain. Following the death of Mr. Justice Armour, Mr. (later Sir Allen) Aylesworth, K. C., was appointed to the vacancy.

The recent publication of *Selections from the Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge, 1884–1918,* throws much light upon the statements in Senator Lodge's memoir.

On March 25, 1903, President Roosevelt sent a confidential letter of instructions to Messrs. Lodge, Root, and Turner. He expressed his opinion that the Canadian claim to Skagway, Dyea, and Pyramid Harbour was not " one of those which can properly be considered open for discussion." He acknowledged that there was room for discussion and agreement respecting the exact position of the boundary, but that upon the question of the unbroken *lisière* " there will of course be no compromise."

On July 16, 1903, President Roosevelt wrote Senator Lodge that " this was the last chance " of coming to an " agreement by the

free act of both parties" and that "if this failed I should ask Congress at its next meeting to make an appropriation to enable me to run the line on our own theory. . . . When Congress assembles I must be able to report the success or failure of the negotiation so that action can be taken accordingly."

Senator Lodge wrote President Roosevelt on July 25 that he had showed the latter's letter to Henry White, Secretary of the U. S. Embassy at London; that it had "alarmed him a little;" and that White "was very much afraid that I might say something too strong."

On July 30, he writes that "there really is no need for oral arguments;" that he had seen Chamberlain and Balfour and urged that everything possible be done "to hasten matters;" that he had "not much hope of reaching an agreement, for I do not think they will have the courage to decide against the Canadians, and the Canadians are so perfectly stupid about it that they seem to fail utterly to see that a disagreement deprives them of their only chance to get out of the matter creditably and leaves the land in our possession, where it will remain."

On August 16, President Roosevelt wrote Senator Lodge that, if the English and Canadian commissioners did not take "a rational and fair-minded view" of the case, he hoped the three Americans would "make their report as strong as possible." He would send a message to Congress stating that "the effort at an agreement is now at an end and that the whole territory in dispute is our own; that we now occupy it; that we shall not surrender it, or hereafter discuss its surrender."

On August 30, Senator Lodge wrote President Roosevelt that "we can expect nothing whatever from the two Canadians and that seemed to be the accepted opinion in London. The only question is whether Lord Alverstone will go with us on the main points. . . . Very possibly he will, but England is in such mortal terror of Canada that I feel more than doubtful in regard to it."

On September 5, he wrote that "Root and Turner and myself, from the general tone of things do not feel hopeful. We look for disagreement."

On September 24, after a "week and a half of argument," Senator Lodge writes President Roosevelt that Lord Alverstone's "position seems to be this: He feels bound on the law and the facts as at present advised to hold that the line goes round the heads of the inlets. . . . He takes very decisively the British view on the Portland Canal."

He stated that Lord Alverstone wished to fix the boundary of

the coast-strip " by picking out a series of mountains which will reduce the strip running round the heads of all the inlets to as narrow bounds as possible. . . . We all agreed that if Alverstone decided in our favor on the main contention, namely, the heads of the inlets, that we could afford with slight modification, to accept their Portland Channel; " but they were also agreed that they could come to no definite decision on all questions until they had seen what width of coast-strip Lord Alverstone was prepared to concede.

On September 29, he writes that they will probably " get a decision in favor of the line running around the inlets, and *if we break off it will be in regard to . . . the width of the strip running round the inlets.*" [3]

After stating that the argument of Mr. David T. Watson, counsel for the United States, had " disappointed " him, he states that the " decision will be reached by the Commissioners, and *it does not depend on the arguments.*" [3]

On October 12, Senator Lodge wrote President Roosevelt that he had found Lord Alverstone " very set on having his selected summits and then creating a range which will narrow the strip. This we cannot admit. We may get our way, but it will be either that or a disagreement."

Senator Lodge's correspondence and memoir are remarkable, inasmuch as they disclose much that has hitherto been, at best, matter of surmise or inference; and because the latter contains statements which are so erroneous as to demonstrate that the author's memory was defective.

As to the statement respecting the meeting of the High Commission at Quebec in 1898, that the " commissioners could reach no agreement " upon the Alaskan boundary, it is generally understood that, but for the premature disclosure by a Canadian of the terms of the proposed agreement, Canada would have obtained a settlement which was much more favourable than the award of the Alaska Boundary Tribunal.

The " opening of gold-mining at Nome " had nothing to do with the Alaska boundary controversy. The discovery of the immensely rich gold placers of the Klondike in 1896 antedated by thirteen years the discovery of the ocean beach placers at Nome.

Under the *modus vivendi* of 1899, the United States had not " practically yielded to Great Britain a tract of territory about as large as the State of Rhode Island, to the north and west of Lynn Canal." No reasonable person can contend that the boundary, as

[3] Italics not in original.

defined in the Treaty of 1825, lay to the eastward of the summit of the White and Chilkoot passes. There might be a difference of opinion as to whether "*la crête des montagnes qui s'entendent dans une direction parallèle à la coté*" followed the *first* range of peaks landward from salt water or followed the watershed peaks, where such peaks were not more than "*10 lieues marine de l'océan,*" but, by no fair contention could the boundary be extended beyond the water-parting between the streams that fall into the Pacific and those that fall into Bering Sea.

Senator Lodge states that President Roosevelt "was not willing to submit it to an ordinary arbitration tribunal with an umpire, because he knew that would result in a compromise and *he felt very strongly that there was nothing that we could compromise.*[4] He therefore determined to endeavour to have a tribunal on which both sides should be equally represented, and see if a settlement could not be brought about."

This, and Senator Lodge's statements respecting the composition of the United States members of the Tribunal, are equivalent to a statement that President Roosevelt was only willing to agree to an arbitration in which the United States could not lose.

That Mr. Hay "was opposed to making any effort" to settle the question along the lines indicated by Senator Lodge is probably equivalent to a statement that Hay was opposed to an "arbitration" that was farcical.

Article I of the draft Arbitration Convention "communicated unofficially by Mr. Hay and forwarded by Lord Pauncefote, May 10, 1910," reads: "An Arbitral Tribunal shall be immediately appointed," etc.

Article I of the Alaska Boundary Convention, signed on January 24, 1903, reads:

"A Tribunal shall be immediately appointed to consider and decide the questions set forth in Article IV of this Convention. The Tribunal shall consist of six impartial jurists of repute, who shall consider judicially the questions submitted to them, each of whom shall first subscribe an oath that he will impartially consider the arguments and evidence submitted to the Tribunal, and will decide thereupon according to his true judgment," etc.

Senator Lodge states, and no doubt correctly, that the word "arbitral" was deleted as a result of his suggestion.

On February 11, 1903, eighteen days after the Alaska Boundary Convention was signed, the United States Senate "gave its advice and consent" to the ratification without amendment.

[4] Italics not in original.

Senator Lodge's statements respecting the selection of the three members of the tribunal appointed by the president of the United States are so important that they should be read in the light of the history of the occurrence as set forth in official documents.

Senator Lodge says that President Roosevelt consulted him "in December, 1902." On December 8, Mr. Hay informed Sir Michael Herbert that he would let him have an answer respecting the Alaska Boundary Convention "as soon as possible after he had consulted the President." This clearly indicates the date upon which this consultation took place.

On December 18, 1902, Sir Michael Herbert wrote Mr. Hay that certain alterations made by the United States in the draft treaty were inadmissible, "as it only put forward the American contention, and that that of Canada would be excluded by it." These are probably some of the "trifling corrections" referred to by Senator Lodge.

Senator Lodge states, in effect, that President Roosevelt gave him permission to select, as United States members of the tribunal, three men who would not "yield on the American claim."

It is to Mr. Hay's credit that he "was extremely displeased, and protested in the strongest way to the President against Mr. Root, and even more strongly against me [Senator Lodge], taking the ground that our opinions were already well known, which was also true of Senator Turner."

Further, an examination of Senator Lodge's memoir does not bear out his statement that he had read the printed cases "with care" before the meeting of the tribunal. For instance, he states that the "ten marine leagues" line constituted the boundary. As a matter of fact, the Treaty of 1825 specifically defines the line as following *the crest of the mountains,* and not the ten-league line, except where the first range of mountains was more than ten leagues from the shore. The error is not of importance except in so far as it indicates that Senator Lodge was more interested in maintaining the pretensions of the United States than in giving the question the careful study expected from an arbitrator in an important international controversy.

Senator Lodge states that, on the first day, Lord Alverstone stated to him that, "on the cases as presented to us by the agents, Canada has no case."

The writer declines to accept this bald allegation as a fact. In view of Senator Lodge's correspondence and another statement, which is referred to below and is demonstrably at variance with

the facts, it is simply incredible that the Lord Chief Justice of England would make the statement here attributed to him.

Senator Lodge's letters of September 24 and October 12 practically demonstrate that, after a "week and a half of argument," Lord Alverstone had stated to him that, in his opinion, the United States was entitled to an unbroken coast-strip, but *that this strip was only four or five miles wide and that such a narrow strip was inadmissible.*

Senator Lodge states that, when "it appeared that there was no possibility of any agreement whatever between the Canadians," Lord Alverstone met "the American commissioners alone and repeated what he had said to me on the first day . . . that the Canadians had no case;" that Lord Alverstone said: "On the question of the line to be drawn on the Portland Canal you must compromise with me. I must have something to go back with."

The statement respecting Portland Canal is unquestionably at variance with facts. Respecting the identity of Portland Canal, Lord Alverstone, after consultation with his Canadian colleagues, drew up a memorandum embodying *their concurring views*, namely, that the channel to the *north* of Pearse, Wales, Sitklan, and Kannaghunut islands was Portland Canal, and that all four islands belonged to Canada. Furthermore, when the United States members of the tribunal affirmed that Portland Canal *lay to the north of Pearse and Wales islands*, they virtually stated that *it also passed to the north of Sitklan and Kannaghunut.*

Until the decision of a majority, composed of Lord Alverstone and Messrs Lodge, Root and Turner, was formally announced on the morning of October 20, 1903, the line awarding Pearse and Wales islands to Canada, and Sitklan and Kannaghunut islands to the United States, had never been mentioned. Mr. Aylesworth, one of the Canadian members of the tribunal, stated that it "was never so much as suggested in the written Case of the United States, or by Counsel, during the oral argument before us. No intelligible reason for selecting it has been given in my hearing. No Memorandum in support of it has been presented by any member of the Tribunal."

It is understood that, when Lord Alverstone found that he could not induce his Canadian colleagues to accept the contentions of the United States members of the tribunal, he met the American commissioners; that Lord Alverstone drew the water-line, which later — except near the entrance to Portland Canal — formed the award; that the land-line, north of the head of Portland Canal, rested upon the following bases: (1) that the line laid down by

Joseph Hunter, in the vicinity of the Stikine River, in 1877, and the provisional boundary of 1899 should be incorporated in the line; (2) that the line should follow mountain peaks distant, in general, less than ten marine leagues (thirty geographical miles) from the general trend of the coast, but leaving a strip not less than about eight to ten miles wide at the heads of inlets.

The peaks were then selected by Lord Alverstone, and the line drawn upon the basis already agreed upon, except that, in the valley of the Klehini River, northwest of Chilkat Inlet, Lord Alverstone forgot about the provisional boundary in this area. As his United States colleagues did not feel that it was incumbent upon them to call his attention to the oversight, Lord Alverstone drew a line which was much less favourable to Canada; and a post which had been occupied by the North West Mounted Police for years, with a substantial area in the watershed of the Klehini, was surrendered to the United States.

The Americans had accepted the contention of Lord Alverstone and the Canadian members of the tribunal that the four islands — Wales, Pearse, Sitklan and Kannaghunut — should be awarded to Canada, but, about an hour before the announcement of the award, *the United States members of the Tribunal* informed Lord Alverstone that they would not sign the award unless Sitklan and Kannaghunut islands were awarded to the United States. They informed Lord Alverstone that he must compromise with them. They said, "We must have something to go back with."

There can be no question as to Lord Alverstone's attitude respecting Portland Canal. A memorandum embodying the views of Lord Alverstone, Mr. Aylesworth and Lieut.-Governor Jetté was drawn up by Lord Alverstone. In this memorandum, Lord Alverstone stated that "there are passages in the documents" which establish to demonstration that Portland Canal lay to the *north* of the islands.

In short, the evidence not only proves that Lord Alverstone did not use the language attributed to him by Senator Lodge, but also proves that Senator Lodge has taken language used by himself and his colleagues, and put it in the mouth of Lord Alverstone.

As to the reasons for Lord Alverstone's action in siding with the United States members of the tribunal, and thus procuring a settlement of this dangerous question, much more is known now than on October 20, 1903.

Later, it was known that, while the Alaska boundary differences were under discussion, Russia, with her well-known penchant for fishing in troubled waters, was endeavouring to gain advantages in

Persia. At the same time, Great Britain had sent her what almost amounted to an ultimatum.

In addition, the Ottawa *Journal* stated recently that President Roosevelt, through a third party, notified the British government that, if the boundary claims of the United States were not conceded, he would take steps to assert the authority of the United States in the territory in dispute, which might have precipitated war. Apparently, this statement refers to President Roosevelt's letter of July 16, 1903, which "alarmed" Henry White and made him fear that Senator Lodge "might say something too strong."

Further light is thrown upon the serious nature of the situation by Senator Lodge's account of his conversation with Mr. Balfour, and the latter's statement that the Duke of Devonshire's resignation from the cabinet "and all similar matters are as nothing in my judgment, compared to the importance of a settlement of this Alaskan dispute. *It is full of peril and it must be settled.*" [5]

Senator Lodge concludes: "We owe the settlement to the firm attitude of President Roosevelt, to the courageous decision of Lord Alverstone, to the merits of the case and to the attitude of Mr. Balfour and the British Ministry."

Not every one will agree with these conclusions, but students of history will note that Mr. John Hay, U. S. Secretary of State, "protested in the strongest way" against the appointment of the three United States members of the tribunal. That this tribute to Mr. Hay is unintentional does not detract from its value as testimony to that statesman, and his desire that Canada get a "square deal."

It is regrettable that President Roosevelt did not live to read the revelations of his old friend, Senator Lodge. It is safe to say that his comment thereon would not have been lacking in vigour, nor would it have been uninteresting.

Observance of Sunday, 1811.

Mr. Norcross communicated a copy of an original petition to the General Court by eleven ministers of churches in Boston and vicinity on the observance of Sunday, asking that the law regulating the post office be amended so as to prohibit the delivery of letters, papers and packets on that

[5] Italics not in original.

day; and he commented on the fact that it has taken one hundred years to bring about a compliance with the petition.

To the Honorable, the Senate, and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress.

The undersigned members of the Association of Ministers in, and about Boston, beg leave respectfully to state —

That the postmasters, in conformity to an act of this Commonwealth, providing for a due observance of the Lordsday, which act ordains, "that no person, or persons whatsoever, shall keep open his or their shop, warehouse, or workshop, nor shall, upon land or water, do any manner of labor, business or work (works of necessity and charity only excepted)," from the first establishment of the post office, till within a short period, have kept their offices for delivery of letters shut on Sunday, until sunset, except on extraordinary occasions, and themselves, and their clerks have enjoyed the privileges of that holy day, in common with the rest of their fellow citizens.

For more than a year past, however, your memorialists, with deep regret, have observed and learned, that the post offices in some places are opened for the distribution of letters, regularly, on the Sabbath; & are informed that this practice, which is in direct contravention of the forementioned act of this commonwealth, is enjoined in the act passed by your honorable body, on the 25th April 1810. the ninth section of which is in the words following. viz That every postmaster shall keep an office, at which one, or more persons shall attend, on every day, on which a mail, or bag or other packet, or parcel of letters shall arrive, by land or water, as well as on other days, at such hours, as the postmaster general shall direct. And it shall be the duty of the postmasters, at all reasonable hours, *on every day of the week,* to deliver on demand, any letters or packet &c. &c.

Your memorialists are informed, that under this clause, the postmasters are compelled to keep the post office open on the Lordsday, to the evident infringement of the laws, now in force, in this State, against the violation thereof.

Your memorialists cannot, in justice to their own feelings, refrain from observing, that the violation of a salutary and long revered institution like the Sabbath, when sanctioned by the most powerful influence in the Union, cannot fail of having a tendency to endanger that respect for all the laws of religion & morality, on which the peace and happiness of Society must, ultimately, repose.

They do, therefore, most respectfully & earnestly petition your honorable body, that the said ninth section of the act, entitled " an act regulating the post office establishment " and passed the 25th April last, may be so amended as to prohibit the delivery of letters, papers & packets on the said Sabbath. And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

Boston, December 26. 1811.

John Bradford
Eliphalet Porter
Jedh Morse

Cha. Lowell
Horace Holley
John Codman
Saml C. Thacher.

Thomas Gray
John Pierce
William E. Channing
Isaac Smith

Petition of Antigua Planters,

To the Honourable the Commons of great Britain in Parliament assembled.

The Petition of the Planters of Sugar and other Inhabitants of his Majesty's Island Antigua. Humbly sheweth.

That your Petitioners have for many years last past been of very great Advantage to the Trade and Navigation of great Britain and from the nature of their situation climate and produce never have or can Interfere with its Trade or manufactures.

That by Accounts taken out of the Custome house books and sent over to your Petitioners by their Correspondents it appears that from the year one thousand seven hundred to the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty there has been imported into great Britain only from the Sugar Colonies one million seven hundred and fifteen thousand and ninety hogsheads of Sugar which may be moderately computed to have been sold for twenty one Million three hundred and ninety eight thousand and fifty six pounds Sterling besides great quantitys of Cotton Alloes Indigo Ginger Piemento and Rum to the amount as your Petitioners verily believe of four Millions more for the same time.

That as the Nation formerly bought Sugar and the chief of these other Comodities of forreigners and paid for them in Cash there has actually been a Saveing to great Britain by means of the Sugar Colonies of twenty five Millions and upwards in thirty years time a Summe which has given Employment to Numbers of his Majestys Tradeing Subjects and many thousands of others who for want of

it must have been maintained by their severall parishes to the Insupportable Load of the Lands of the Kingdome.

BUT your Petitioners beg leave to represent.

THAT this Valueable Trade has been for some time past and still continues in a declining Condition.

THAT your petitioners pay the same Dutys to the Crown, now Muscavado Sugars sell at fifteen Shillings per hundred as they formerly did when those Sugars were valued at thirty Shillings per hundred in the book of rates.

THAT tho the policy of the British Legislature has laid a Duty of sixty five per Cent on all French Sugars Imported into great Britain as Interfering with our own product. Yet in the Northern Colonies (where there is the same reason for an Equall Duty as your petitioners apprehend) the French may import their Sugars eleven per Cent and their Rum and Molasses four and an half per Cent cheaper than your Petitioners, namely they pay no Duty.

THAT the French may also Import their Sugars to Ireland directly under a less Duty than the English Merchant can do it after the charge of a double Voyage British Sugar being by Law to be Landed first in great Britain.

THAT the French Planters have the advantage of going directly to Markett to the Southward of Cape Finister pay less Dutys to the Crowne of France than your Petitioners do to that of England and draw back all their Duty on Exportation, But your Petitioners leave behind nine pence of the Duty on Raw Sugars and the Refiner near nineteen pence of the said Duty, to the great Discouragement of the Exportation of refined Sugars.

THAT French Brandys Imported from Dunkirk pay somewhat less Dutys than English Rum.

THAT tho' your Petitioners pay a Duty of four and an half per Cent in specie on all their produce before it is ship'd in the Plantations over and above the Dutys paid in England, Yet they and their Predecessors have supported the Government of this Sugar Colonie and built and maintained great numbers of Forts and Fortifications at an Incredible Expence with little assistance from the Crowne.

THAT the Decline of your Petitioner's Trade is not oweing as it has been represented to their Idleness and Luxury, for it will appear plainly out of the Custome house books in England that more Sugar has been Imported into great Britain for the last fifteen years up to the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty than

the fifteen years preceeding by thirty thousand hogsheads a year, from all the Sugar Colonies. A prodigious Increase of that Manufacture and not to be brought to pass as your Petitioners humbly conceive, without the most exact Economy and diligence.

But your Petitioners are now greatly apprehensive that instead of Enlargeing and Improveing their Settlements they shall be obliged to quitt them to the Loss of their Negroes buildings and Utensills amounting to several Millions Sterling which would be in Effect so much loss to great Britain together with all the advantages ariseing from so great a Summe employed in Trade.

Your Petitioners therefore humbly pray That this Honourable house will give them such relief as the nature of the Case requires.

Edw. Byam
Vall: Morris
Natha'l Crump
Jno. Frye
Geo: Lucas
Geo: Thomas
Fran. Carlile
John Morris
John Drew
Willm. Bulkly
William Paynter
Alexr. Dow Jr
Nicho's Hall
John Fowler
James Curtice
Ashton Warner
Row'd Ash, Junr.
Ed. Byam Old No. Sd.
William Sawcolt
Willm: Mackinen
Samuel Watkins
Jonas Langford
Thomas Jarvis
Stephen Blizard
William Payn Cler
William Littlewood
Thomas Gillyat
Arthur Williams
Thomas Grauenor
James Nibbs, Sen.
James Nibbs, Jun.
Henry Nibbs
Henry Elliott
Baijdis Otto Baijdis
Thos: Nicholas
John Frye, Junr.
Henry Douglas
Thomas Williams
Philip Abram
George Frankyn
Edward Byam of the Body
Rowland Williams
Edward Williams
Samll Brooke
John Sawcolt
Nath Gilbert
Walt'r. Nugent
Joseph Todman, Juner.
Matthew Williams
Stephen Baker
Jno: Fyffe
Rog'r: Adams
Henry Hancock
Peter Guichenet
Jno. Stephen Chardwoine
Franc's Lynch
William Lindsey
Rich'd Baker

JAMES PARKE
RICHARD TODMAN
SAM'LL LAVINGTON
ROBERT ADDISON
JAMES CHESTER
HENRY CLINTON
MERRICK TURNBULL
THOMAS MARTIN
JOHN DELAP
JAMES DELAP
JAMES FYFFE
DAVID TULLIDEPTO
JAMES MUIR
AND'W LESSLY
SYER ALLICOCKE
SAM'LL LYONS
JAMES CRAWLEY
GEORGE JENINGS
HENRY WALLACE
THO. HANSON
PHILIP DARBY
JACOB THIBOU
WILLIAM FURNELL
JOHN TOMLINSON
JOSEPH BUCKSHOM
THO: FREEMAN
THO'S STEPHENS
EDW'D CHESTER
THO: WATKINS
BENJA. KING
JOHN TOMLINSON JUNR.
JOHN BURKE
ISAAC ROYALL
JACOB MORGON
JNO. MURRAY
RICH: KIRWAN
THO'S KERBY
WILLIAM SMITH
WILL. ALEXANDER
JOHN BARTON
THOMAS BENN
THO'S NORBURY KERBY
GEO: BYAM
WILL: PRINGLE
RICH: SHERWOOD
THO MORRIS
C'PHER SCANDRETT
N: MONK
CHARLES MORRIS
SAM WICKHAM
HENRY LYONS
JAMES MITCHELSON
JOHN KING
WM. BARCLAY
THO: FENTON
JOHN PARK
ROBERT TUITE
JOHN RICHARDSON
ZEPHANIAH RICHARDSON
JEREMIAH NIBBS
MILES TOPPING
MICHAEL MCLESTER
R. BANNISTER
SAM'LL LIGHTFOOT
SLING'Y CRESSY
JOHN RONAN
JOHN MCLESTER
WILLM. MEREDITH
JOHN LIGHTFOOT
PHILIP RONAN
GEO. CRABB
HENRY GARRET
WILLIAM CRABB
LEONARD COLLIN
BARRY ANDERSON
JOHN ELIOT
NICHO'S COLLINS
BENJA: NIBBS
JAMES BROCHETT
HENRY SPENCER
JOHN KING, JUNR.
MICHAEL BURNET
JOHN MUNGOMRY
ROBERT FLLOYD
PHILLIP NIBBS
TIMOTHY FOWLER

Robert Freeman
J: Sanderson
Saml. Mayer
Jno Fowler
William Bowen
Peter Delanoy
William Garratt
John Delanoy, Jnr.
John Delanoy, Senr.
Marmaduke Urlin, Senr.
Marmaduke Urlin, Junr.
Samll. Blizard
Jos. Lavicuntt
John Lavicountt
Robert Malloun
Bennet Beasly
John Jefferson
Thomas Toft
Thos. Vears
Charles Golinn
Samuell Adjett
Wm. Swon
George Hyde
Henry Lowry
James Howey
Joseph Parker
James Parker
Benja. Wickham, Junr.
John Pike, Sener.
John Pike, Junr.
Samuel Davy
John Davy
John Lambert
John Todman
Wm. Williamson
Samuel Harman
Robert Nanton
Jos: Lyons
Robt. Christian
Thom's. Elmes Junr.
Hen: Symes
James Taylor
Nicho: Lynch
John Grover
Tho: Elmes, Senr.
Nath'l Marchant
Eph: Jerdin
John Farley
Francis Farley
Bernard Orr
William T Huntt
John Ayres
John Hunt
Roger Ecterloney
Jno: Bacon
Jno. Goble
Theodore Walrond
Benja: Marchant
John Poole
Will: Skerrell
Richard French
Jno. Carson
Jno. Fletcher
John Stephenson
Thom's Howey
Benjamyn Ayres
John Bolus
James Ayres
Peter Martin
Edward Martin
Henry Greenway
Patrick Brown
Benjamin Barnes
John Marchant
William Wallis
Thomas Marchant
Edward Powe
George Powe
Wm. Rice
Anthony Lynch
Hugh Ross
Tho's: Wilcox
John Verdon
John Hatton
Henry Kipps
John Salter

JOHN PRYNN
GEORGE REYNOLDS
JOHN JONES
JACOB SWAN
THOS. SPENCER
BENJA. HUGHES
THOM'S BROWNE
WILLIAM STEPHENSON
JOHN COLBURN
PAUL LEE HORSFORD
THOM: WILSON CLERK
DOM: CAMMELL
JAMES HUGHES
RICHARD NANTON
RICHARD CHAPMAN
JA'S: BLANTOR
SAMUELL GREAUES
ROWLAND ASH, SR.

SURVEY AT WISCASSET, 1686.

August the 19, 1686

The returne of the Sr Vaie of upland laid out to Mr. Ellicke Sundry wooddrope containinge to hundred akeres lying and being in a baye knowne by the name of Wichcasset baye one that plantation which was formerly in proued by Abraham Corbet senr: one the west side of the baye lying betext to Coue: being in bredth with the Coue that is one the sowe west side one hundred tenty and eight powle beginning at the souest corner and soe to a pine tree marked one fower sides that stands at the nore este Corner: and from thence nore west to hundared and fifty powle to a white oake marked one fower sides in the woods: and from thence west sow west one hundured tenty and eight powle to a pine tree marked of fower sides standing in the woods: and from thence backe sowe este to the water side where wee begann to the marked tree one the sowe west side of the Coue: with thirty akers of maish or meddowe whare it may be found most Conuaniant with in the Limmits of the township of newdartmath where it is not taken up all redy.

Sr uaied and laid out per me Giles Goddard [1] srer for the County of Corne well

[1] Goddard received his commission as surveyor of the County of Cornwall from Gov. Thomas Dongan, of New York, October 22, 1684, when Pemaquid and parts adjacent, in Maine, were under the Colony of New York, and known as Cornwall County. 5 *Coll.* Maine Hist. Society, 106.

FEBRUARY MEETING.

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, February 11, 1926, at 3 P.M., President MOORE in the chair.

The record of the January meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Charles E. Goodspeed, a manuscript diary of an American student in Rome, Italy, August 15 to October 22, 1869, during his midsummer holidays; also two letters, written by George Bemis from Rome, February 9, 1860, and January 11, 1861, to a Mr. Fletcher. Mr. Bemis was later a Resident Member of this Society.

From Miss Josephine E. Rayne, photostat copies of plans of the fortresses at Louisburg and Canso, drawn by George Follings, gunner at Fort Canso, 1745, the originals being in the Library of the New England Historic Genealogical Society.

From Lemuel A. Welles, of New York, a photostat negative of a letter of Thomas Dudley, December 28, 1643.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported a deposit:

By Dr. Francis Lowell Burnett, a marble bust of his great-grandfather, Rev. Charles Lowell, which stood for some time in the hallway at Elmwood.

Professor ABBOTT read a paper on

JAMES BLOXHAM, FARMER.

Some twenty-seven or eight years ago — to be exact in 1897 — I published in the New York *Nation*,[1] then under the able editorship of my old friend, Mr. Wendell Phillips Garrison, an article which I fear would not now be so acceptable to that or indeed to any similar organ of public opinion. It consisted chiefly of certain letters relating to one James Bloxham, the first farm-manager of Mount Ver-

[1] New York *Nation*, vol. 65, 219–221.

non, brought out by Washington to assist in putting his estates in order after his long absence and neglect as a result of his activities in other and wider fields.

In spite of the enormous attention paid to the political and military activities of Washington, no one up to that time had given much consideration to the humbler but still interesting subject of how the first President spent his time when he was not engaged in the arduous and difficult task of saving his country. So far as I am aware, this little article in the *Nation* was the first intimation but one in print that he had ever had a farm-manager, still less that one was imported from England, and least of all that his name was James Bloxham. Within a month, however, the introduction of this character into history — if it can be called history — bore fruit. A lady, Miss Mary S. Beall, then apparently engaged in some research work in the Washington archives, contributed to the *Nation*[2] a communication which confirmed the facts adduced in my article and added to them some details derived from the account-books of Mount Vernon.

One might have thought that the concurrence of two such epoch-making contributions to Washingtoniana would have been enough to launch this hitherto obscure individual into the full stream of publicity which seems to overwhelm even the humblest of those connected with the life of the great. It might have been supposed by an optimistic youngster that thereafter no account of the Father of his Country, or at least of the master of Mount Vernon, would have been complete without some reference to this interesting, even amusing, and certainly useful agent of Washington's fortunes. But the ways of historians are, as we all know, past finding out. So far as I have been able to discover, the name of Bloxham having been thus revealed to the world found that world as indifferent to it as it had previously been to the man who bore it. Not until December, 1917, in an article on the Agricultural Revolution by Professor Raymond G. Taylor in the *History Teachers' Magazine* referring to these contributions in the *Nation* did the name of Bloxham again appear in print, despite the fact that meanwhile Mr. Haworth

[2] *Ibid.* 298.

had written a long and entertaining volume on *George Washington as a Farmer.*

After the appearance of Professor Taylor's article, Bloxham again sank into that oblivion which seems to be his destined lot, until within the last few months the publication of Washington's diaries afforded him another opportunity to escape from obscurity. With the slight addition to our knowledge afforded by the diaries, with the contribution of Miss Beall, and with some gleanings here and there, especially from Washington's account-books and the public records of Virginia, I propose, with the aid of this Society, to make another effort to rescue the name of this insignificant person from its no doubt well-deserved neglect, and present to you an account of what is known of his humble but not unentertaining experiences in the service of the master whose connection with him gives Bloxham whatever claim he may have — and that is slight — to the consideration of posterity.

Whether the effort to drag a forgotten man from oblivion is worth while, whether the contribution to the already overwhelming mass of human knowledge is desirable, or even desired, is always questionable. Yet there is, at least, a certain human interest about James Bloxham; and he is, in a sense, a representative figure in the development of that pursuit which, however overshadowed nowadays by industry, is not only the basis of our existence but was at the time of which we write the most important of all American industries, and most important of all to George Washington who was then its greatest exponent.

Let us consider, then, the story of James Bloxham, Farmer. It begins with one of a series of letters written by George Washington to Arthur Young, the famous writer on agricultural subjects, sometime secretary to the British Board of Agriculture, published by that eminent theorist and not very successful farmer after Washington's death. In it occurs the following passage:

> By means of the application I made to my friend Mr. Fairfax of Bath and through the medium of Mr. Rock, a bailiff is sent to me, who, if he is acquainted with the best courses of cropping will answer my purposes as a director or superintendent of my farms. He has the appearance of a plain honest farmer — is industrious, and

from the character given of him by a Mr. Peacy (with whom he has lived many years) is understanding in the management of stock and of most matters for which he is employed. How far his ability may be equal to a pretty extensive concern is questionable. And what is still worse he has come over with improper ideas, for instead of preparing his mind to meet a ruinous course of cropping, exhausted lands and numberless inconveniences into which we had been thrown by an eight years war; he seems to have expected that he was coming to well organized farms and that he was to have met ploughs, harrows and all the other implements of husbandry in as high taste as the best farming counties of England could have exhibited them. How far his fortitude will enable him to encounter these disappointments or his patience and perseverance will carry him towards the work of reform remains to be decided.

Beyond that brief reference there seemed to be no trace of this somewhat unpromising new bailiff in Washington's letters, or his writings of any sort, as published up to that time. Nor would I, in all probability, have known even of this, had it not been my fortune to stumble upon some documents relating to him and to Washington's experience with him in the form of certain letters of the bailiff and his master to the Mr. Peacey in question, in the hands of whose descendants they had been preserved. Who, then, was this Mr. Peacey, and who were these other gentlemen who combined to transmit the English Agricultural Revolution to America, among other ways in the person of James Bloxham?

With regard to the first question, at least, there is a reasonably satisfactory answer. Among that class of gentlemen-farmers which reached its zenith in the latter part of the eighteenth century the name of Mr. William Peacey of North Leach, Gloucestershire, stood very high. This was no small distinction in the days when "farmers could let half their land lie idle and live like gentlemen on the proceeds of the other half"; when the greatest statesmen in the country reckoned their interest in agriculture and their knowledge of its practical side as not the least of their accomplishments; when King George III himself took such keen interest in such matters that he not only delighted in cattle-fairs and agricultural exhibitions but even contributed to the periodical *Annals of Agriculture* under the name of

Ralph Robinson. Not only was Mr. Peacey awarded the great gold medal of the Royal Agricultural Society and invited to become one of the editors of the *Agricultural Cyclopedia,* but he numbered among his friends and correspondents many of the most famous public men of his day.

It is of him, too, the story is told, and embalmed in the yellow pages of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1791, how, in order to save an innocent man from the gallows, he rode ninety miles to London in one night with proofs of the man's innocence, which he had secured at great trouble and brought almost, as it were, to the foot of the scaffold, on the morning set for the execution. There is another story, too, equally redolent of the atmosphere of the time, how once King George came to see him in his absence. The busy and irritable housekeeper grumbled vastly at being disturbed in her work by the tall footman for whom she opened the door. "You make," said she, "as much noise as if it was the King." "It *is* the King," replied the footman. "Then," said the undaunted housekeeper, "the King can just go on to Cheltenham to see Mr. Peacey, for he's not at home." And the King went. Such a man was Mr. Peacey, probably the only man, or very nearly the only man, in the world on friendly terms with George III of England and his greater namesake in America.

It was, then, by a natural sequence of circumstances and events that Washington's new farm bailiff came to him as a result of the connection between Mr. Peacey, Wakelin Welch, Washington's London man of business and Mr. Peacey's friend, and Washington. Humble as the new bailiff was, in a sense he personified the great movement then altering the face of England. The changes in British agriculture which go under the name of the Agricultural Revolution were then in full tide of achievement. Fifty years earlier Jethro Tull had published his epoch-making work on what he called with nice alliteration *Horse-Hoeing Husbandry;* and Lord Townshend, "Turnip Townshend" as he was called from his devotion to that vegetable whose cultivation was one of his ruling passions, not merely revolutionized agriculture, but made farming pay so well that it became fashionable as well as profitable. The discovery that more cultivation

meant better returns from the land, that rotation of crops meant less exhaustion, or even renewing of the soil, the introduction of root-crops and of "artificial" grasses, were achievements which may well be set beside those more spectacular inventions which were beginning to stud the land with the new monstrosities called "factories."

Moreover the breeding of cattle which substituted "blooded" stock for the previous "promiscuous union of nobody's son with everybody's daughter" was no less notable, as Robert Bakewell with his "New Leicester" sheep took his place on the roll of Britain's benefactors beside George III who in the very years of which we write introduced Merino sheep into England.

To this was added the development of societies and of competitions as the great landlords who fathered it sought means to increase and extend the new knowledge by making it a sporting event as well as a learned pursuit. Scientists lent their aid, and the President of the Royal Society himself, Sir Joseph Banks, was not above proposing a new remedy for scab in sheep. To this again English inventive genius was enlisted by the demand for better agricultural implements, ploughs, drills, harrows, cultivators, even mowing-machines and threshers.

In societies, at least, Scotland led the way with its Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture in Scotland, founded as early as 1723. In England the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, founded in 1754, offered prizes for agricultural as well as industrial achievements. A whole new literature of agriculture made its appearance. Local organizations were formed, for meetings, papers, and above all, perhaps, for exhibitions which stimulated competition and made farming a great outdoor sport. Finally, in 1793, this development was recognized by the government in the establishment of the Board of Agriculture with Arthur Young as its secretary.

Among these local organizations almost if not quite the first was the Bath and West of England Society formed in 1777 at the crisis of the American War. To it belonged most of the leading farmers and landlords of the region from which Bloxham was drafted to carry the new gospel to Amer-

ica once that war was done. In this respect there was a striking difference between agriculture and manufacturing. The secrets of the new machines were guarded with such strictness that it was a felony to carry them out of the country. The story goes that Silas Deane was as anxious to bring back from his diplomatic labors James Watt's new-fangled steam-engine, with whatever other machinery he might be able to lay his hands on, as he was to secure a French alliance, but with less result for all his Yankee shrewdness. Samuel Slater, stopped from smuggling out the plans of spinning machinery, was only able to introduce them into the United States, it is said, by committing them to memory and so carrying them literally in his head, to Pawtucket. But seeds, plants, agricultural machinery and live-stock were subject to no such embargo and began to find their way across the Atlantic almost as soon as the war was over.

There was need of them. The war, as Washington observed, had left American agriculture, especially on such estates as his, in a bad way. The soil in the older regions especially was no longer that deep virgin mould which the pioneers had cleared. Much of it doubtless never was. The crude methods of cropping and the planting of tobacco in particular had long since begun to exhaust its fertility. To remedy this condition Washington himself had experimented in crop rotation after the English model, in drainage, in fertilizing not only with manure but with marl. He finally turned to an expert manager and thus in much the same fashion in which the English had attacked their problems the Americans had begun to follow their example.

In societies not the least, for scarcely was the war over when they began to spring up. In Charleston and in Philadelphia such organizations were set up in 1784–5, and within six or seven years New York and Massachusetts had followed, with Connecticut close behind. Experimental farms had been proposed by Charleston, agricultural education in schools and universities by Philadelphia; and all the societies had begun that publication of proceedings which is one of the chief occupations of such bodies. The leading men of America, like those of England, belonged to these societies

— Washington and Franklin to the Philadelphia organization, the Adamses, Hancock and Fisher Ames to the Massachusetts body, one of whose members, Rev. Samuel Deane of Portland, had even published a book with the somewhat forbidding title of *The New England Farmer or Georgical Dictionary, containing a Compendious Account of the Ways and Means in which the Important Art of Husbandry, in all its various branches, is, or may be, practiced to the greatest advantage of this country.* Moreover, the English publications found many readers in America, and among the volumes in Washington's library are enumerated nearly fifty titles of works dealing with agriculture and kindred topics.

It was, indeed, not only the war which had affected the value of Virginia holdings nor even the exhaustion of the land by long cropping of tobacco. The decline in the market for that commodity as for most American products in England after the war, with the consequent general demoralization of trade, made it necessary to turn to other crops, chiefly wheat. The local overseers were utterly unable to meet the new situation, and even when wheat was grown it was necessary to find a market for it. In that respect, at least, the Father of his Country and his fellows were woefully behind the times. They did not clamor for state aid, they sought no legislation, nor appropriations from the government. It would, of course, have been futile in a day when government itself was so weak, and when men like Patrick Henry were too busy opposing the Federal Constitution to give such support to Virginia planters as he had earlier given to the Parsons' cause. In consequence Washington sought to develop trade with the West Indies, to make, it is said, ship-biscuit out of his wheat, and in various other ways to find means for himself out of the very uncomfortable dilemma in which he found his fortunes.

Such, then, were the circumstances of the Agricultural Revolution in England and of the Agricultural Depression in America, when at the height of the former and the depth of the latter the greatest, if not, indeed, the largest farmer in the United States sought for guidance from one of the fountain-heads of agricultural knowledge in Great Britain. In that enterprise he secured assistance from the members

of the Bath and West of England Society in the person of this James Bloxham, who, it would appear, had got into some difficulty, probably financial, and was not unwilling to leave the country for a time at least. That worthy would, no doubt, have been enormously surprised to know that he was the representative of such a movement, and much abashed to find himself in such great company. What his sensations would have been had he known that he would have taken the time of this learned society a hundred years and more after he was dead, we can only dimly imagine.

Least of all could he have realized what, politically speaking, he was getting into. Not the least interesting part of his story lies not in his own adventures but in the circumstance that he arrived in this country at one of the greatest crises of its history, that his new employer had been not merely the commander-in-chief of the victorious American army — which Bloxham doubtless knew — but that he was at this very moment the man above all other men to whom the new nation looked for guidance in this most critical epoch of its beginnings, the greatest figure in America. Bloxham's connection with Washington, indeed, so closely parallels the period of the formation and adoption of the Constitution that, among the surprising things about this little story none is more astonishing than that Washington had time or inclination to note the details of his relations with his new farm manager. They were some time in arriving at an agreement for it was not until Monday, May 19th, 1786, that Washington noted in his diary that he had "Agreed this day with James Bloxham who arrived here the [21st] day of April from England, to live with and superintend my farming business upon the terms mentioned in a specific agreement in writing."

That agreement, so characteristic of Washington's methods, runs thus:

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT entered into this 31st day of May in the year 1786 between George Washington Esqr of the County of Fairfax and Commonwealth of Virginia of the one part, and James Bloxham lately from the Shire of Gloucester in the Kingdom of England, Farmer of the other part Witnesseth, That the said James Bloxham for and in consideration of the Wages,

Allowances, and privileges hereinafter mentioned, doth agree with and oblige himself to serve, the said George Washington for the space of one year; to commence the first day of the present month, in the capacity of a Farmer and Manager of such parts of Husbandry as shall be committed to his charge; and will, to the utmost of his skill and abilities, order and direct the same (with the approbation of the said George Washington) to the best advantage. — That he will at all times, and upon all occasions, suggest such plans for the improvement of the said Washington's Farms, and the stock of Horses, Cattle, Sheep, Hogs, &ca which are on them as to him shall appear most conducive to his interest, — Will keep regular Accts of the said stock — and will strictly observe and follow all such orders and directions as he shall, from time to time receive from his said employer; for this and for other purposes. That when thereunto required, he will buy, at the expence of the said Washington, Cattle, or Sheep for feeding, or for Store; and will dispose of the same or any others, to the best advantage; attending particularly to the care and management of the Stock of every kind, both in Winter & Summer — as well those for the use and benefit of the farms, and for family consumption, as those which may be fatted for the Market — That he will use his utmost endeavours to encrease, and properly distribute, the Manure on the farms; and also will improve to the best of his judgment, the implements of husbandry necessary thereto — and will instruct, as occasion may require, and opportunities offer, the labourers therein how to Plow, Sow, Mow, Reap, Thatch, Ditch, Hedge &ca in the best manner. — And generally, that he will consider the said Washington's interest as his own, and use his true endeavour to promote it accordingly. In consideration whereof, the said George Washington doth agree to pay the said James Bloxham Fifty Guineas for his year's Services, to be compleated on the first day of May, 1787; and will allow him, the said Bloxham, ten Guineas besides, towards defraying the expences of bringing his wife and family to this Country. — That when they shall have arrived, he will provide him, & them, a decent and comfortable House to reside in, by themselves; will lend them two Cows for Milk — a Sow to raise Pigs for their own eating (but not to sell) and give them as much Bran as is sufficient to brew Beer for his Family's use. — And moreover, will allow them for the part of the year which will remain after the arrival of his family and leaving his present board, at the rate of Six hundred pounds of Pork and Beef, and Eight hundred pounds of Middling Flour, per annum: — and likewise a piece of ground sufficient for a Garden, and firewood. — The said George Wash-

ington also agrees to provide the said James Bloxham with a horse to ride on for the purpose of superintending the business herein required — or, if the said Bloxham shall find his own horse, to allow pasturage, & reasonable feed for him. — Lastly it is agreed between the said George Washington and James Bloxham, that if the said James Bloxham shall not return to England at the expiration of the year for which he now engages, and his conduct shall be such as to merit the approbation of the said George Washington, that then and in those cases, his wages for the next year shall be Sixty Guineas; and the other allowances and priviledges the same as the present year. In testimony of all and each of these Articles, and for the full and perfect compliance therewith, the parties to these presents hath interchangeably set their hands and seals, and to the other, doth bind himself in the sum of One hundred pounds Currt money of Virginia, the day and year first written.

Signed, Sealed &ca
in the presence of
GEO. WASHINGTON.[3]

GO WASHINGTON [seal]
JAMES BLOXHAM [seal]

What did they think of each other, these two men so very different in every way, thus brought together by this curious chance? That, too, we are permitted to know, for we have, in the first place, the remarkable communication of Bloxham, not to himself as one might infer from its beginning, but to his patron and benefactor, Mr. Peacey. It may be necessary to explain that "sanfine" or sanfoin of which he makes so much, is a kind of pasture grass, and from the Young letters it seems probable that the unsatisfactory seed came from that gentleman and had, perhaps, spoiled in transit. A "shupick" is a fork, and, like "biddick" in Devonshire, seems peculiar to Gloucester, Worcester and Wilts [Ger. *schuppe,* a spade?]. As to the gentle insistence that the ploughs be "Light and Deasant," his anxiety will not be surprising to any one who has observed the difference of weight between English and American soil, probably nowhere greater than between North Wilts and Gloucester and the neighborhood of Mount Vernon. In his letters to Young, Washington complains of the trouble he has had to make his

[3] George Augustus Washington, nephew of George Washington.

hands use the heavy English ploughs and comments on his land as "light loam." With these explanations we may attack the Bloxham letter.

FOR MR. PEACEY ATT NORTHLEACH FARM GLOUCESTERSHIRE
VIRGINIA July 23 1786

JAMES BLOXHAM SR. this to inform you that I arrived Safe att the generls Washingtons the 20 3 [23] of aprel which was Ester monday. I have ordered for 10 Bushels of Sanfine Seed and other Seeds from you which the generel Washington will aplie to you for and I should be glad if you would take the Best Care you Can to send it over good ass you Can for he have been Deseved in some sanfine seed from England which I Recemend him to you and let me have good that the generl sends for of all sorts if posable and send it along with my wife ass soon ass possble and I should bee glad if you could get a Clever Little Deasant D plow which must go without a weeal for the Land is not Level and to be Shoor to make him Light and Deasant and be Shoor to make him turn the worke well for they have som most shoking Plows that Ever was Seen in the world the land is Light and very easy to plow they go with two horses only and Doble the same ass your Norfolk plows. But no weel but very light as they have no noshon of making a plow to turn the work they are very stupet in thare one Consait but send on that is Light and Deasant and that it will turn the work well I Rot in my other Letter to my wife to Com over but I thinke it not worth while for I think thatt I Shall not Stay no Longer than my yeare is up which is the first of next may for things Are verey Desagreable to Do Bisness it is imposable for any man to Do Bisness in any form the Genral have a Bout 25 hundrd akers of Clear Land under is on ocyping. Ther is nothing agreble about on the plase which I can not Do no Bisnss form nor no Credet but I have you send the plow And the Seeds which the Genearel will send for to you and send half a Dosen of Good Clean made Shupicks for they have nothing but woodon forks I have got one or two made but in a very bad manner that I should be glad if you would not for this Contey is verey pore and there is no chance for any Body to Do any god and I should be glad if you and my Brother Thomas would See if these velins would Com to any terms or I would go to any part of Englun to be out of thare way But this Countruy will not Do for me but to Be Shore what the General have offered in wages is quite Well he Gives for this year we have a Gred for 50 English

ginnes per yeare and Bord and washing and Lodging and if I Would send for my wife and famly he would alow me ten Ginnes towards thare Coming to this Contry an if I would Stay and to alow me 8 hundard weight of flower and 6 hunderd Wait of pork and Bef and to alow me two milche Cows for the youse of my famly and to alow me a Sow to Bree[d] Som pigs for my own yous but Not to Sell and to alow me a Comfortable house to Live in but it apears to me not Any Inheretance [inducement?] thear is another thing Which is very Disagreable these Black People I am Rather in Danger of being poisind among them which I think I Shall Leave the Contrey ass son Ass I Can But the general and I have agreed and articld for one yeare But my wife may youse ore one will A Bout Comming over. But I hope Sr you I hope will Be a frend to my Poor Deer Children and Wife And I Hope you will Remember my Brother Thomas to a Sist them what he can my heart have yarned for my family a gret maney time and I think Im allmost Like a transport [i.e. convict] But I hope that the Sun will Shine upon me wonce more the general have some very [good?] laynd But badly manedge and he never well have them no better for he have a Sett About him which I nor you would be troubled with But the General is goot them and he must keep them but they are a verey Desagreable People and I will leave the Contey But I Should be glad of answer Immedatly to know how afares Stand and then I sall be a better Judge of the matter the General have som very good Shep which he sold for 40 Shilings a pes of thar money a English guina is 28 Shiling of m[o]ney and I hope mrs and all the famly is Well and I have whent thro a greatt Dele Since I laft England.

And Lett me have a nanswer Imeadetly Rember me to all frens and no mor from yor frend and well wisher

JAMES BLOXHAM

But if one gathers from Bloxham's communication that he was not wholly satisfied with his new surroundings and occupation, it is scarcely less apparent from Washington's letter which accompanied it that the new farm manager had tried even his monumental patience. It also was addressed to Mr. Peacey and makes a shrewd guess as to what its companion contained.

SIR, Excuse the liberty I take in putting the inclosed Letters under cover to you. — It is to oblige Mr. Bloxham who now lives with me, but who scarcely has sufficient knowledge of his own

mind to determine whether to continue more than the present year (for which he is engaged) or not. — In a word he seems rather to have expected to have found well organized farms, than that the end and design of my employing him was to make them so. — He makes no allowance for the ravages of a nine yeare's war from which we are but just beginning to emerge, nor does he consider that if our system of Husbandry had been as perfect as it may be found on your Farms, or in the best farming Counties in England, there would have been no occasion for his Services.

What the old man has written to you respecting the coming over of his wife — sending over plows seeds and so forth, I know not; because at different times he seems to be of different opinions. I can only add, therefore, if his family are to come, and by the way of London, that it would be well for some person on their behalf to open a correspondence with Messrs. Forrest & Stoddart, Merchans, of that place who have Ships that pass by my door in their way to Alexandria, and would render the passage in one of them much more convenient & less expensive than to any other place; 'tho in a vessel bound for Norfolk in this State (Virginia), or Annapolis, Baltimore or Patuxent in the neighbouring one of Maryland, it would not be very inconvenient. In case of her coming, whatever Implements, seeds, &c. may be requested by Mr. Bloxham on my Acct had better be paid for by his wife, and settled for here.

I am sorry to be thus troublesome, but as Mr. Bloxham considers you as his Benefactor, and Friend — has addressed one of his Letters to you — and his Wife, if she finally resolves to come, will stand in need of advise and assistance, it is necessary that the best mode should be suggested. — A ship from Bristol to either of the places above named, may, probably, be more convenient than the rout but of this you can judge better than I, I am Sir, Yr most Obdt & Humle Servt,

G. WASHINGTON.

Such were the unpromising beginnings of a connection which, on the face of it, seemed destined to be of few days and full of trouble, if one did not allow for the characters of the two men involved, the shrewd patience of Washington and the obvious inclination of Bloxham to follow the instincts of his race and put the worst foot forward. For it is apparent that the new bailiff was already at work. On Wednesday, Sept. 20th, Washington notes in his diary [III: 118–19]:

My Farmer sowed this day the lay land which had been broken up at this place by his own directions, part of which at the east end adjoining the Corn had been plowed [ ] days. The other part at the West and also adjoining the Corn had been plowed [ ] days. The first contns. about [ ] Acres; the 2d about [ ]. This Wheat was put in in the following manner, viz. sowed on the first plowing, which tho the ground was well enough broke, the sod was not properly turned. In the roughest and heaviest part the Seedsman was followed by a heavy harrow the same way as the ground was plowed; in the lighter part by two light harrows, side by side (fastened together), and the whole cross harrowed with the light double harrow to smooth and fill the hollows. Alongside this I set two plows as above to break up [ ] Acres more of the lay, and directed it to be sowed as fast as the lands were finished, and to receive the same harrowings to try (the land being nearly of the same quality) wch. method will succeed best.

Despite their original differences, by October Washington was taking Bloxham's advice. On October 21st he records in his diary:

At first the People had finished sowing Wheat about Noon yesterday; and today were picking up the fallen Corn and gathering the residue of the Pease. The Plows were preparing the Wheat Stubble for rye, and sowing it. At Dogue run the plows had got into the drilled corn, the Stalks of which were cut down and entirely taken off the ground. The ground with the plowing seemed to be in perfect tilth, and in good order. I was about to harrow it after sowing, but my Farmer advised the contrary and I desisted.

Again on November 7th he notes that "My old Farmer thinking the nights had got too long tho' the weather as yet had been mild, to keep the cattle in open pens on the naked ground, I ordered the whole not to be penned till proper shelters had been made for them." And on the day following he discovers that his new bailiff knew little of the subject of surveying in which Washington had been, if he was not still, something of an expert, for he writes:

The Farmer having carrd. the level and staked it for conducting the water on the South side of Muddy hole swamp below the fork

of Manley's old house and Cornelius McDermot Roe having done the same on the No. side from the plank bridge on Muddy hole (where the farmer also began) I tried with a water level across in several places within Manley's field and found that the farmer was higher on his side than the other by between 16 and 18 Inches. But this will make no essential difference in a ditch for water 18 Inches deep.

Washington did not, indeed, devote all his attention to his farm, much less to Bloxham, in these days. On Sunday, November 2nd, he records:

Mr. George Mason came here to dinner and returned in the Evening — After dinner word was brot from Alexandria that the Minister of France was arrived there and intended down here to dinner — Accordingly, a little before Sun setting, he (the Count de Moustiers) his Sister the Marchioness de Breton Brienne — the Marquis her Son and Mr du Ponts came in.

On Monday, November 3:

Remained at home all day. — Colo Fitzgerald & Doctr Craik came down to dinner — & with a copy of an address (which the Citizens of Alexandria meant to present to the Minister) waited on him to know when he would receive it.

Yet even these visits of friendship and ceremony were not unconnected with the humble Bloxham for the General's account book shows that in November, probably at the time of this visit, he took occasion to pay Colonel Fitzgerald the sum of eleven shillings " freight of yr. chest &c " duly charged in the Bloxham account.

As they worked together it is apparent that each began to modify his opinion of the other, and Bloxham in particular began to be reconciled to his new surroundings, for we find on November 13 Washington confiding to his diary:

Told James Bloxham, my Farmer, who was about to write to England for his wife and family, and who proposed the measure that he might write to one Caleb Hall, a neighbour of his in Gloucestershire (who had expressed a desire to come to this country, and who he said was a complete Wheel right, Waggon builder, and Plow and Hurdle maker), that I wd give him 25 Guineas a year for his Services & if he paid his own passage to this country)

the first year, and I found he answered my purposes, and we liked each other, that I might give him 30 guineas the next year, and held out encouragement, if he chose to work for himself, that I would provide him with some place to live at. Whilst with me that he should be found with Provisions, Washing and lodging.

What, meanwhile, had happened to the letters sent in August? In a day when it took from three to six months for a voyage across the Atlantic it is not surprising to find that it was apparently only in January, 1787, that they reached London, and came into the hands of Mr. Wakelin Welch, Washington's correspondent there until 1791, and were, as it appears from his letter to his friend Mr. Peacey, duly forwarded:

Mr. Peacy,

By this post have sent you a packet which came by a vessel, just arrived, addressed to us from Gen. Washington in his letter to us — "he mentions that he had a Farmer sent to him from Gloucestershire by a friend at Bath, he has written for his wife to come to him with her children & to bring with them some Seeds Implements of Husbandry &c to this country. Bristol is their nearest port, but Oppo from thence to this River rarely happening I recommend it to their Patron Mr Peacey to open a correspondence with you that she may be advised of the Sailing of a Vessell from London to this River as a more speedy & certain mode of conveyance. Your compliance therein would be very pleasing to me & Serviceable to an old English Farmer

I am Sr
Yr Most obedient humle Serv.
G. W.

In Conformity to the above I am to inform you that a fine Vessell named the Mary Capt. John Andrews & who sails by Gen. Washington's Seat will go from hence in all February if it suits your Friend to go by that time & from London, she should let me know as I might engage for passage which sometimes cannot always be depended upon. am Sr Yr H Servt

W. Welch.

London the 17 Jan 1787

The charge of a Passage from hence is high & paid for before the departure of the Ship how far will this be convenient for the Family.

Matters, it appeared, moved more rapidly once the business reached England. It took only six days for Mr. Welch to send and receive his correspondence with Mr. Peacey, as is evident from his next letter:

WILLIAM PEACEY, Esq

SR. I am to thank You in the first place for your kind present of a Hare which I rec'd very safe & in Consequence of your desiring my engaging a passage for Mrs. Bloxham & her two children I this day have done it — the Captain one Andrews is a very good Man, his ship is Brittish & one of the first character, the Vessel goes very near Gen. Washingtons Landing so that Mrs. Bloxham has not far to Travel.

The Usual Charge for passengers who lay in the Cabbin & are found with fresh Provisions & Wine during the Voyage is twenty Guineas each, but for Mrs. Bloxham & her two children to go in that agreeable State, the Captain has agreed for thirty Guineas for the Family & which I do not think unreasonable, as to the things necessary for Mrs. Bloxham to take depends on Mrs. Bloxham her Self. Goods & Cloaths in Virginia as they mostly come from hence are very dear, therefore it would be necessary for her to Lay in a good Stock of them, on board Ship anything does the Captain was saying some Beding might be wanting for the Cabin, but the expence of which can not be great as to everything else is included in the thirty Guineas, the Seeds will be particularly taken care of & let the package be marked Seeds so that they may be known when on Board, pray wil there be any Quantity so as to fill Casks, if they do we must take a warehouse for them if not they may be sent to our Counting house no. 19 Fenchurch Buildings near Fenchurch Street, the place of my Residence is in the country about 4 miles from London.

The Ship sails in all Febr so that if Mrs. Bloxham has any Acquaintance in Town she might come by the last week am very Respectfully yr obliged & humb Serv

W. WELCH

23 Jany 1787

If Mrs Bloxham should alter her Mind let me know as the Captain keeps the Cabbin for her Accomodation & therefore cannot dispose of it to any else.

In spite of this the fretful Bloxham was destined to remain in single blessedness for a considerable time, while, appar-

ently, Mrs. Bloxham made up her mind and her other preparations for this great venture in a new world. We find in Washington's accounts only one record against Bloxham for 1787, a bill of 18 shillings and six pence debited to him on December 31 for "work done for you by my Shoem'r and Taylor as per act." Moreover some time in 1787 it appears that Mrs. Bloxham did not alter her mind but shipped along with the "sanfine" seed and other farming necessaries (of which we may hope that the ploughs proved "Light and Deasant") as we may perceive by the following letter. From it also appears that Bloxham had not been poisoned, that he had apparently reconsidered his determination to leave the country to its fate as soon as his agreement with Washington expired, and that his services had proved more satisfactory than the previous letters would have led us to believe. Under date of 7 January, 1788, Washington writes to Mr. Peacey.

MOUNT VERNON, 7 Jany 1788

SIR: — I have received your letter of the second of Feby 1787. I am much obliged for your attention in sending me the seeds, which arrived agreeable to the bill. Mrs. Bloxham received of Wakelin Welch Esq. of London £10-1-10 which sum she informed him was what she paid you for the seeds on my account. I am not sorry that Caleb Hall did not come out for I proposed his coming more to please Bloxham, who was very desirous of having him here than from a want of his services myself. I thank you, Sir, for your obliging offer to furnish me with Blacksmiths and a Millwright: — I have two of the former occupation, who, though not very neat workmen, answer all my purposes in making farming utensils etc in a plain way — the latter I shall have no Occasion for as I have not work enough to employ him in his own line: — and indeed I doubt whether they would find their advantage in coming over at present for although I should be extremely glad to see the honest and industrious mechanic come into this country from any and every part of the Globe, yet I would not wish to encourage them unless they would be benefitted by it. Whenever we have a regular and firm government established the prospect for these people will be much more pleasing than it is at present. Bloxham and his family are in good health and appear to be contented with the country. I am Sir

Yr most obed: Servt
G. WASHINGTON

WILLIAM PEACEY ESQ.

The seeds, as the General's diary notes, were put in the ground as soon as the weather permitted, for we find on

Monday, 7th April 1788

In the Vineyard Inclosure below the Stables I sowed in a bed in the No. Et. Cornr. the Seed of the Runkel Recbar, or Root of Scarcity, and adjoining this in two other beds, ranging therewith, the Seeds of Sulla were sown; the Middle bed was sent by Mr. Peacy to my Farmer. Below these again will be sown the seeds of the Fancy Grass, given to me by the Revd. Mr. Massey.

Moreover, Washington and Bloxham had begun to look after the family of the bailiff, for we find on May 9, 1788, the farmer was debited with 1000 herrings at five shillings, 100 shad at two shillings, and a barrel and a half of salt at four shillings, five pence, the whole amounting to £1/9/6/. Beginning with June 7, 1878, the Bloxham household begun to receive " middlings " from Washington's mill, with which it was duly charged on March 1, 1789, with 1755 pounds at 12 shillings, or £10/10/8.

With that, apparently, there began a new relationship between the master of Mount Vernon and his bailiff, for we find that these earlier sums are carried forward to what Washington calls a " new account," made out, it may be noted, not, like the old, to " James Bloxham (Farmer) " but to " Mr. James Bloxham," which argues possibly some obscure alteration in social status. The first item, the first of its kind on the books, indeed, is a charge of £19/12 in wages paid him on March 14, 1789, and again on that same day a cash item of 14 guineas apparently included however in the former sum.

Thereafter in 1789 is no account, perhaps because Washington was journeying through New England, but in February (13) 1790 is a payment to " your wife Mary Bloxham on account of wages due you £15 "; in June " 1255 lb. Midlings furnished you since the 1st March 1789 @ 15/ £9/8/3 "; " 1734 lb. for Beef and Pork furnished you from the time you commenced housekeeping @ 25/ pr. hundred £21/13/7 1-2 "; " 35 1-2 lb. Bacon @ 6d 17/9; 21 lb. Mutton @ 4d. 7/ "; " 150 shad furnished you in 1789 £1/2/6; and 2 Bus for Salt 6/8/." All of which is interesting not

merely for the comparison with present prices, but as an example of Washington's elaborate system of book-keeping which might well give pause to some of the most advanced of modern farmers, to say nothing of the shock it might give to some others.

Moreover, two things are apparent from these otherwise dull accounts. The first is that Bloxham seems to have been rising in the world. On June 12, 1790, he was paid the very respectable sum of £200 on account of wages, which he had evidently not drawn until then; and in the April following there is an item of £80 paid to Mr. Alexander Smith in his behalf. In June, 1791, the account was closed with an item of " Cash pd. to you in full of all demands as pr. Receipt of this date, £19/11/8 1-2 " making a total of £367/19/8 from the beginning to the end of the connection.[4]

The second consideration is the relation between Bloxham's activity and that of his master in these eventful days. At the very time that the new farm-manager arrived at Mount Vernon, the farmers of western Massachusetts were beginning that movement for cheap money which presently led, among other things, to Shays' rebellion. When Bloxham sent his first letter home, that movement was finding expression in county conventions; and when Washington first notes Bloxham's labors in his diary, that little rebellion was getting under way. The whole country was similarly disturbed with the now desperate financial situation. Virginia was moving for what was to be a constitutional convention, with Washington as one of the leading spirits. By the time that Mrs. Bloxham came over, Washington was presiding over that convention in Philadelphia, while Congress was busy with the Northwest Ordinance.

When Washington wrote to Mr. Peacey in January, 1788, the struggle for the adoption of the Constitution was being waged, and Washington was throwing his influence into the scale for its acceptance. His letter on the subject of importing blacksmiths and a millwright, indeed, comes in be-

[4] The difference between this sum and five years at 50 or 60 guineas a year is probably explained by the difference between English and Virginia currency, perhaps with incidental arrangements and expenses not specifically noted in the agreement or accounts.

tween one to Jefferson and the subject of American interference in foreign affairs, and one to Governor Randolph urging the support of the Constitution. As the news of Massachusetts' adoption came to Virginia, it found Washington watching the sprouting of his new seeds of the root of scarcity, the fancy grass and the sulla in the vineyard enclosure. While Bloxham's "new account" was being made up, his master was beginning his first term as president of the United States, and by the time that account was closed the reports of Hamilton on public credit, a national bank, and protection of domestic manufactures were beginning not only to bring comfort to farmers and business men alike throughout the country but were restoring that confidence so sadly lacking before and as Washington noted in his letter to Mr. Peacey, so essential to sound national life. It is, perhaps, a mere coincidence, scarcely worthy of note, yet it seems somehow typical of the times, that it was at this precise moment that the humble Bloxham finally cast in his lot with this country. In spite of those who from that day to our own have professed to see in the Constitution little or nothing more than an effort of the capitalist, "exploiting" classes to oppress the plain people of the country, Bloxham seems somehow a symbol of the new day which had dawned over the country. He, like many of his kind, now found some foundation for their affairs, enabling them, as well as the government, to go on, as is apparent from the next chapter in the story.

With this last entry in June, 1791, all knowledge of Bloxham seemed to end with the severance of his connection with Washington, and I was in doubt whether — if, as had been surmised, that connection had ceased a year earlier — he had not gone back to his beloved Gloucestershire. But it occurred to me in studying the accounts that there was some significance in these large payments and the name of Alexander Smith, that, instead of going back, he might have taken his accumulated savings and bought some land of that gentleman in the neighborhood of Mount Vernon. An application to the Register of Fairfax County more than confirmed that conjecture; and from the information supplied me from the records of the Circuit Court of that county it

is possible not only to determine this fact, but in some degree the end of Bloxham's story.

For from that record it appears that on July 20, 1795, Mr. Alexander Smith completed a deed to Mary Bloxham and her children, William, Elizabeth, James and Thomas, confirming to them a tract of some forty acres, " Beginning at a red oak corner to the land of Peter Wise on an old ditch, and running thence with the said Wise's land to the new Turnpike road, thence Eastwardly and binding with the said road to William Ward's corner on the said road, thence with Ward's line and binding therewith to the Ditch herein before mentioned another corner to the said Ward's land, thence with the said Ditch a Southwardly line to the beginning." That land was bought in 1790 by Smith from one Thomas West, and, it would appear, was contracted for by Bloxham shortly thereafter, for £310 Virginia money. But Bloxham died when he had paid Smith about half of the purchase price, without making provision for paying the remainder or receiving a conveyance. Thereafter it appears that Mary carried on, paid the balance and so received the deed for her lifetime, with her children, the deed is careful to state, as tenants in common and not as joint tenants, for the further payment of one dollar. Moreover the clerk of the court informs me that Mary Bloxham qualified as administratrix of her husband on Jan. 22, 1793, which fixes approximately the date of his death, and gives the amount of his estate at that time as £52/2/0.

This is then, apparently, the end of the career of James Bloxham so far as human records go, yet to it, as to all things human, there is an epilogue. For there is in the records of the Fairfax County Court another document, dated January 8, 1853, which carries the story one step further. It is the will of Bloxham's eldest son, William, a somewhat pathetic document with which this paper may well close. It reads as follows, bad spelling and all:

Know all men buy thees presents, That I William Bloxham of the County of Fairfax & State of Virginia, Do will and bequeath to my son Joseph Bloxham and Mary my Daughter all my Real and personal property, after my just debts are paid which is my Desire that after I am laid in my last resting place there my re-

pose in peace and In making this my Last Will I do it for the regard to my two children has allways shew me and in providing food and rament for me in my old age and Joseph being a cripple.

And so ends in the obscurity from whence it emerged the story of James Bloxham, Farmer.

NOTE:

Mr. F. W. Richardson, clerk of the Fairfax Circuit Court, Fairfax, Va., writes on January 22, 1926, that Mary Bloxham qualified as the administratrix of James Bloxham, 22 Jany., 1793 — with William Duvall and Robt. Brockett as her sureties. His estate was inventoried at 52 pounds and 2 shillings.

This Indenture, tripartite, made this twentieth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety five, Between. Alexander Smith and Rachel his wife of the Town of Alexandria County of Fairfax and State of Virginia of the first part, Mary Bloxham widow and relict of James Bloxham late of the said County of Fairfax and State of Virginia deceased of the second part, and William Bloxham, Elizabeth Bloxham, James Bloxham, and Thomas Bloxham Children and Heirs of the said James Bloxham deceased of the third part Whereas Thomas West did by his Indenture bearing date the twenty sixth day of August one thousand seven hundred and ninety for the consideration therein mentioned grant bargain and sell unto him the said Alexander Smith his Heirs and Assigns for ever a certain piece of land situate lying and being upon the dreins of Hunting Creek in the said County of Fairfax and bounded as follows Viz: Beginning at a red oak corner to the land of Peter Wise on an old ditch, and running thence with the said Wises line to the new Turnpike road thence Eastwardly and binding with said road to William Wards corner on the said road, thence with Wards line and binding therewith to the Ditch herein before mentioned another corner to the said Wards land, thence with the said Ditch a Southwardly line to the beginning containing forty acres more or less it being a part of the lands devised unto him by his father John West deceased which tract of land he the said Alexander Smith did contract with the said James Bloxham deceased to sell and Convey unto him for the consideration of three hundred and ten pounds Current money of Virginia of which sum the said James Bloxham paid unto the said Alexander Smith about one half and then departed

this life without making any provision for the payment of the balance and before any Conveyance was made to him of the said land by the said Alexander Smith, since which the said Mary Bloxham the widow and relict of the said James Bloxham hath paid unto him the said Alexander Smith the residue of the purchase money of the said tract of land not paid him by the said James Bloxham.

Now this Identure Witnesseth that the said Alexander Smith and Rachel his wife for and in consideration of the said sum of Three hundred and ten pounds Current money of Virginia to him the said Alexander Smith in hand paid at and before the Sealing and delivery of these presents, the receipt whereof he doth hereby acknowledge, Hath given granted bargained sold aliened & confirmed And by these presents Do give grant bargain sell alien and confirm unto her the said Mary Bloxham during her Natural life all that piece or tract of land sold and conveyed unto him the said Alexander Smith his Heirs and Assigns by the said Thomas West as aforesaid according to the metes and bounds thereof as herein before set forth and all houses buildings trees woods, waters watercourses profits commodities hereditaments and appurtenances whatsoever to the said tract or piece of land belonging or in anywise appertaining, To Have and to hold the said piece or tract of land hereditaments and all and singular the premises hereby granted with their and every of their appurtenances unto the said Mary Bloxham for and during her natural life to and for her own proper use and behoof and to and for no other use or purpose whatever. And this Indenture doth further witness that the said Alexander Smith and Rachel his wife as well for and in consideration of the said sum of Three hundred and ten pounds Current money of Virginia paid in manner aforesaid as for and in consideration of One Dollar to him the said Alexander Smith in hand paid by them the said William Bloxham, Elizabeth Bloxham, James Bloxham and Thomas Bloxham at or before the Sealing and delivery of these presents the receipt whereof he doth also hereby acknowledge Have given granted bargained sold aliened and confirmed and by these presents Do give grant bargain sell alien and confirm unto them the said William Bloxham, Elizabeth Bloxham, James Bloxham and Thomas Bloxham, their Heirs and Assigns forever as tenants in Common and not as joint tenants, the reversion of in and to the above discribed piece or tract of land and premises with the appurtenances immediately expectant upon the death of the said Mary Bloxham. To Have and to Hold the Reversion of in and to the within described piece or tract of land and premises with the appurtenances immedi-

ately expectant upon the death of her the said Mary Bloxham unto them the said William Bloxham, Elizabeth Bloxham, James Bloxham and Thomas Bloxham their Heirs and Assigns as tenants in Common and not as joint tenants, to the only proper use and behoof of them the said William Bloxham, Elizabeth Bloxham, James Bloxham and Thomas Bloxham their Heirs and Assigns forever as tenants in Common and not as joint tenants, and the said Alexander Smith doth for himself his Heirs Executors and Administrators covenant grant and agree to and with the said Mary Bloxham and to and with the said William Bloxham, Elizabeth Bloxham and Thomas Bloxham and to and with the Heirs and Assigns of the said William Bloxham, Elizabeth Bloxham, James Bloxham and Thomas Bloxham that he the said Alexander Smith is now at the time of the Sealing and delivery of these presents seized in his own right of a good sure perfect absolute and indefeasible Estate of inheritance in fee simple in the said piece or tract of land hereditaments and all and singular the premises hereby granted with their and every of their appurtenances without any manner of Condition, Mortgage Limitation of use or uses or any other matter Cause or thing to alter change charge or determine the same and also that he the said Alexander Smith and his Heirs will at any time hereafter at the Costs and Charges of her the said Mary Bloxham, and the said William Bloxham, Elizabeth Bloxham, James Bloxham and Thomas Bloxham their Heirs and Assigns execute and acknowledge any further lawfull act and Deed for the more certain assuring and conveying all the singular the premises before mentioned with their appurtenances unto her the said Mary Bloxham during her natural life, and unto them the said William Bloxham, Elizabeth Bloxham, James Bloxham and Thomas Bloxham their Heirs and Assigns after the death of the said Mary Bloxham as by the said Mary Bloxham during her life, and the said William Bloxham, Elizabeth Bloxham, James Bloxham and Thomas Bloxham their Heirs and Assigns after the death of the said Mary Bloxham shall or may be required. And Lastly that the said Alexander Smith and his Heirs all and singular the premises hereby granted with their and every of their appurtenances unto her the said Mary Bloxham during her natural life and unto the said William Bloxham Elizabeth Bloxham, James Bloxham and Thomas Bloxham, their Heirs and Assigns after the death of the said Mary Bloxham against the claim and demand of him the said Alexander Smith and his Heirs and all and every other person or persons whatsoever shall and will warrant and for ever depend by these presents.

In Witness Whereof the said parties have hereunto set their hands and Seals the day and year first before mentioned.

Alex'r Smith [Seal]

her

Rachel X Smith [Seal]

mark

Sealed and Delivered in the presence of

Thomas Gunnell

John Jackson

her

Renej X Williams

mark

Received Three hundred and ten pounds Current money of Virginia the consideration within mentioned.

Witness

Thomas Gunnell

John Jackson.

Alex'r Smith

At a Court Continued and held for Fairfax County 20th July 1795, Alexander Smith acknowledged this Deed and Receipt to Mary Bloxham to be his act and Deed, which together with a Commission and return for the privy examination of Rachel Smith wife of the said Alexander are ordered to be recorded. Teste,

S. Wagonor Cr. Ct.

Clerk.

Recorded in Liber Y. No. 1 page 14 and Examined.

Mr. Mayo read a paper on

Jeremy Belknap and J. Q. Adams, 1787.

Harvard Commencement in 1787 was the twenty-fifth anniversary of the graduation of the Class of 1762, and no doubt that was one reason why Jeremy Belknap, a distinguished member of that class, was among those who assembled at Cambridge on July 18. But there were other reasons, too. Belknap had very recently left his parish at Dover, New Hampshire, and was now the minister of the Congregational Society in Long Lane, Boston.[1] Hence he was *ex officio* an Overseer of Harvard College and it was his duty

[1] Jane Belknap Marcou, *Life of Jeremy Belknap, D. D.*, 139–142.

as well as his pleasure to attend the first Commencement following his installation.

Unlike many Commencements, before 1787 and since, this one came on "a fair, cool, pleasant day."[2] About ten o'clock Governor Hancock and Lieutenant-Governor Cushing, escorted by a clattering cavalcade, arrived at Harvard Hall. They were received by the Fellows, professors, and tutors, and were then conducted to the Philosophy Room where a meeting of the Board of Overseers was held. This business lasted about an hour. Then the academic procession was formed and the company marched to the meeting-house, which stood in what is now the southwest corner of the College yard. Here their spirits were refreshed by "an excellent piece of musick" "performed by a select band of students." At its conclusion President Willard offered a prayer, and the program of exercises by candidates for the bachelor's degree was begun.[3]

In the graduating class there were about fifty young men, unequally blessed as to social position and intellectual attainments. Of them all none was more fortunate in both respects than John Quincy Adams, the son of the American minister to the Court of St. James. It was inevitable, therefore, that he was chosen to deliver an oration at the Commencement exercises. Adams had just turned twenty, and if Copley's well-known portrait of him was a likeness, he was a noticeably good-looking young man. The subject of his oration was "The Importance and Necessity of Publick Faith to the Well-being of a Community." As Shays' Rebellion and the general unrest of 1786 were still fresh in men's memories, and the Federal Convention was at that moment in session at Philadelphia, the topic was indeed timely. Adams, though "considerably agitated" when he arose, delivered his address "in a manly, sensible, and nervous style of eloquence" and made a very favorable impression upon his hearers.[4]

When read to-day the oration is interesting chiefly because Adams referred to the times as "this critical period,"[5] an

[2] Belknap's description of it in his interleaved almanac for 1787, in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

[3] *Massachusetts Centinel,* July 21, 1787, 142.

[4] *Massachusetts Centinel,* July 21, 1787, 143.

[5] *Columbian Magazine,* September, 1787, 625.

expression chosen by John Fiske a century later as an appropriate designation for the years between 1783 and 1789. Of Adams' use of the phrase Fiske was probably unaware, for he attributed the inspiration of his title to another source; [6] but there is perhaps a modicum of historical significance in its contemporary use. However that may be, there was — further on in the oration — a passage that must have arrested the attention of at least one member of the audience. After declaiming upon the fundamental importance of the government's paying its debts and of citizens' meeting their private obligations Adams pictured the enviable consequences if America should adopt this principle. He touched upon this and that field of activity, and finally upon literature.

"The muses [he declared], disgusted with the depravity both of taste and morals, which prevail in Europe, would soon take up their abode in these blissful seats of liberty and peace; here would they form historians, who should relate, and poets who should sing the glories of our country." [7]

The first volume of Jeremy Belknap's *History of New Hampshire* had appeared in 1784. His second volume was destined to come from the press in 1791. It is not difficult, therefore, to imagine the enthusiasm kindled in Mr. Belknap's bosom in 1787 by these words of young Adams. To his ears they must have been an excellent climax to the argument for the preservation of the national credit.

Not long after Commencement Belknap wrote to Adams, expressed his admiration of the speech and requested a copy of it for publication in the *Columbian Magazine,* a highly reputable periodical then published at Philadelphia. One of Belknap's own books, *The Foresters,* an entertaining allegorical history of the American continental colonies, was at that time appearing serially in the *Columbian,* and Belknap himself had recently declined the editorship of the magazine.[8] To his letter of commendation Adams made the following unexpected reply: [9]

[6] John Fiske, *The Critical Period of American History,* preface to the first edition.

[7] *Columbian Magazine,* September, 1787, 628.

[8] 5 *Collections,* II, 461.

[9] Belknap Papers (Ms.).

SIR, I am highly honoured by your request for a copy of my performance; and however inadequate my own judgment would pronounce it to answer the end which you propose, yet from a deference to your opinion I am induced to send the enclosed copy.

I would only request that I may not appear alone: and therefore, if my friend Mr. Harris should not consent to give a copy of his poem, I should wish to have the enclosed piece return'd: as it might perhaps be considered as a mark of presumption in me to assume a distinction, which others, much more meritorious, had declined through modesty.

In any case I should wish no name may be affixed to the piece: its pretensions to the attention of the public will be very humble, and I therefore hope it will be perused by the eye of indulgence, rather than scrutinized by that of criticism.

I am Sir, with great respect, Your most humble & most obedient servant

J. Q. ADAMS

BRAINTREE July 30th 1787.

Adams's friend "Mr. Harris" was his classmate Thaddeus Mason Harris, whose contribution to the Commencement program had been "an English poem," apparently a poem in praise of History. His verses had appealed so strongly to Jeremy Belknap, and likewise to the Reverend Peter Thacher of the Brattle Street church, that they had asked Harris's leave to have them published in the *Columbian Magazine*. They assured him that they were "fully persuaded that it would tend to increase the reputation of our College at the Southward."[10] But Harris was not so easily persuaded. In fact he firmly declined to grant their request. Here was a difficulty Belknap had not anticipated, and to make matters worse it affected his negotiations with Adams. He would have done better, perhaps, if he had not mentioned to Adams that he hoped to publish Harris's poem as a companion-piece to the oration; but he had supposed quite naturally that this suggestion would act as an inducement. As it turned out, it had the opposite effect, and Belknap received two refusals instead of one. This was awkward indeed, but Jeremy Belknap was not one to give up easily. He sat down and wrote another letter to young Mr. Adams:

[10] John Pierce's *Memoirs* (Ms.), ix. 496.

Boston Aug 3, 1787

Dear Sir, I have perused your Oration with a repetition of the Pleasure which I enjoyed in hearing it, and am much obliged to you for putting it into my hands. But you have at the same time laid me under an embarrassment from which I wish to be relieved. Mr. Harris has given a repeated denial to the solicitations which I have made for a Copy of his Verses, and his *invincible diffidence* is alledged as the reason of it. Nothing is more amiable in a young Gentleman of acknowledged Genius than *Modesty*, but is it not one attribute of that wisdom which adorns Modesty that it is "easy to be intreated"? Why then shd ye refusal of Mr H influence Mr A? Can yr Modesty suffer by yielding to a proper solicitation, especially if the publication be prefaced with a hint of ye difficulty with wh a Copy was obtained for the Press?

And why should the name be suppressed? a name which which calls up every grateful and affectionate feeling in the breasts of Americans? Without ye name, your Alma Mater will be deprived of half the honor wch she deserves, but if that be added, the friends of Liberty and Virtue will have ye farther Satisfaction to see ye features of the Parent in the son, and may I not add your Country will have a pledge of a succession of abilities in the same Family still to aid her Cause and espouse her Interest.

I hope that further Consideration will induce you to take off the Embargo which you have laid on my wishes, and beg you would as soon as possible let me agn hear from you.[11]

For two or three days Adams turned the matter over in his mind. Then he wrote a reply,[12] which, in spite of its eighteenth-century elegance, indicates that its author was after all a very human young man.

Braintree August 6th 1787.

Sir, I received your favour of the 3d instt, and am really at a loss how to return my thanks for the undeserved expressions of politeness which it contains. With respect to the publication of my performance; I wish equally to avoid giving any just grounds for a charge of presumption, or of obstinacy. The reason which induced me to wish Mr Harris's poem might be published was, that I supposed it might in some measure serve as a justification

[11] Belknap Papers (Ms.). This letter, with sundry omissions, is printed in Jane Belknap Marcou's *Life of Jeremy Belknap*, 157–158.

[12] Belknap Papers (Ms.). In print it may be found in the *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, I. 34.

for me. But I fear, Sir, that persons of judgment and candor who were present at Commencement, and who would be, therefore, proper judges of the comparative merit of the performances on that day, would be displeased to see mine alone, in print, and would reasonably think it a breach of common decency, in me, to consent to it. This, Sir, is my objection; I only request that you would weigh it in your own mind, and I will leave it to you to determine whether I ought not to prevent the publication. Judge me impartially, and without favour, and I shall readily submit to your decision.

If you should finally conclude to have it printed, I do not wish, that any thing should be said, respecting the difficulty of obtaining a copy: any preface of that kind could at best only palliate my fault, and would give an air of importance to the piece, which it does not deserve, and which it could not support. Apologies of this nature never have any influence upon impartial persons; and these are the only characters, I am fearful of offending.

To the publication of the name, my objections are more numerous and still stronger than to the other point. In several collegiate performances which have heretofore been published the names are omitted: indeed I do not recollect that I ever saw one with the name before it. If the piece is said to have been delivered by one of the candidates for the batchelor's degree, at the last Commencement, I confess I cannot see of what importance it can be either to the university, or to the public, that the individual person should be named. And if my father has been so fortunate as to render services of importance to his countrymen, that is certainly no reason why they should be prejudiced in favour of his son.

I have however such an implicit confidence in your judgment, that I shall leave even this point to your final determination: and if you think these reasons sufficiently valid, you will be so kind as to return the oration to Mr Foster, who will transmit it to me.

With every sentiment of esteem and respect, I remain, Sir, Your most obedient and humble servant.

J. Q. ADAMS

In other words, when all was said and done, Adams gave Belknap *carte blanche,* with the single reservation that there should be no mention of the difficulty encountered in obtaining a copy of his oration for the press. Belknap respected this reservation, but otherwise he carried out his original intention and had the speech published — with

Adams's name and a reference to his illustrious father attached to it — in the issue of the *Columbian Magazine* for September, 1787. There you may read it, if you wish to do so. But to my mind the trivial incident that grew out of Adams's Commencement oration is fully as interesting as the address itself. Historically the Belknap-Adams correspondence has little if any significance; sentimentally, however, it should not be without meaning to us, for of the gentlemen concerned all three later became distinguished members of this Society: Belknap, the historian; Harris, the librarian of Harvard University; and John Quincy Adams, the sixth president of the United States.

LETTER OF JEREMY BELKNAP.

Mr. NORCROSS read the following letter, in his own collection, which continued a correspondence, begun in 1789, between Jeremy Belknap, chief founder of the Historical Society in 1791, and John Pintard, founder and first sagamore of the Tammany Society of New York in the same year. He called attention to the vote of the Historical Society on December 23, 1791, that the "Corresponding Secretary [Dr. Belknap] open a correspondence with the St. Tammany Society of New York"; and said that Mr. Pintard had urged Dr. Belknap as early as August, 1790, to form a Society of American Antiquaries, which soon led to the founding of the Historical Society.

BOSTON, April 3d, 1793.

DEAR SIR, — A friend of yours Mr. Baker has called upon me and I am very glad to hear of you by him, though I wish he could have told me of your enlargement and your freedom from embarrassments. I find Mr. Baker[13] a genuine virtuoso and as a member of the Tammany Society I wish to continue through him the correspondence wch I began with its late Secretary in the behalf of our Historical Society, and which I conceive may be rendered mutually beneficial. I shall give him for the use of the sd Society a copy of my discourse on the third centenary of the

[13] Gardiner Baker, keeper of the American Museum in New York, under the patronage of the Tammany Society.

discovery of America, and at the same time I beg your acceptance of another for yourself.

I am Dr Sir with much esteem Your friend and hble servt

JEREMY BELKNAP.

Addressed: John Pintard Esq Newark by Mr. Baker

Mr. FORD submitted a note and documents on

COLONIAL COMMERCE IN 1774–1776.

As colonists the merchants and traders in the American possessions enjoyed all the rights and privileges of British subjects so far as the trade and navigation laws, openly framed for the benefit of the mother country, permitted. These rights had become clearly recognized in law and in practice they were extended by the colonists beyond the law, as is always the case where it is sought to restrict trade on natural lines, conducted where it is difficult to enforce the laws. So far had evasion of the trade acts been carried that the ministry looked upon them as proper punitive measures, to be enforced by the aid of the navy and, as in the case of Boston, by closing the port and transfer elsewhere of all its commercial activities. Later, when a condition of war came, many merchants trading legally found their adventures interrupted; many ships, on lawful voyages, were placed at risk of capture; and all American markets disorganized by the uncertainty and change of demand and supply incident to war. Much rested upon the sound trading principles of the merchant, expressed in his instructions to the captains of his ships; as much depended upon the ability of those captains, often for months without directions from home and acting under orders clearly unsuited to the new conditions; and even more on the sudden variations in markets, both at home and abroad.

The following letters and papers are drawn from the Lee-Cabot MSS., the gift of Mrs. Frederick Cheever Shattuck (Elizabeth P. Lee). They tell the story of the adventures of one captain — Zachariah Burchmore — employed by the firm of Joseph Lee and Company of Beverly and Salem, and carry him from November, 1774, when conditions were not

excessively disturbing, to January, 1777, soon after which, presumably, he and his vessel were either wrecked or captured. The exact fate of the *Union* is not known; the only piece of testimony is the policy of insurance on the cargo, which was paid in full by the insurers, indicating a total loss. Captain Burchmore commanded another vessel, the *Hector*, in 1777. The story thus forms a complete chapter and gives in full detail the various voyages made and commodities bought and sold. The detailed invoices are not given, for the letters afford the general results and are sufficient for general purposes. It is difficult to decide whether greater credit should be given to the firm for their admirable instructions, or to Captain Burchmore for his good sense in meeting them under commercial conditions of great uncertainty. Certainly a firm could hardly have been better served by their agent or be on better terms with individual merchants in the various places visited.

Instructions to Captain Burchmore.

Beverly, Novr. 26th, 1774.

Captn. Zachariah Burchmore, — As you command our Brigt. we direct you to proceed immediately for Charlestown, and there make sale of our Rum if the Market should be such as to pay the first cost and charges; but if otherwise and you judge it prudent to proceed to Winnea for the benefit of getting Rice cheaper reserve Twenty five Hogsheads Rum to carry with you, as it helps ballast the Vessell and with your Cask may be put off at a tolerable price. The advantages however that arise from Dispatch we esteem so great as to advise not to Leave Charlestown unless Rice is higher than 57/6 per Ct. as the detention will be much Longer in any other place, and perhaps be more than a ballance for the saveing of 10/ on each Cask, which is the principal advantage gained at Winnea. These things would have you weigh well in your own mind and determine according to your Judgment. When you have fixed on the place for loading lay the whole of our Interest out in Rice and proceed with all possible dispatch for Cadiz. if the markett should be as high as 62 Rials Vellon [1] per Ct. clear

[1] The real [de] Vellon is the Spanish monetary unit and money of account, but there is no corresponding coin. Its value is about five cents — a quarter of a peseta — but it was formerly higher.

on board it would not be prudent to go further unless our Friends Messrs. Bewick, Timmerman and Romero strongly advise to it. bear it in mind that whoever receives your Cargo must either advance the money or give Bills on Malaga so as to enable you to load there with Fruit and Wine and after the discharge of your Rice proceed directly for Malaga and apply to our Friends Messrs. Kirkpatrick & Escott for 150 Quarter Casks Wine, 20 Fanegas [2] of Almonds and if Oile is cheap take 10 Quarter Casks, the Ballance in Raisins unless they are much higher then usual, in which case you will take more Wine and Less Fruit. but should they be at 75. or 80 Rials Vellon take only 2 or three hundred Barrells with the other things above mentioned and desire them to give you a Letter of Credit to their Friends at Lisbon for the ballance in Lemmons. Call in there in your way to Falmouth and take the ballance in Fruit. When in England desire Mr. Banfield to get a Licence for another Voyage to Load with Rice and endeavour to sell so much of your Cargo there as to pay the Charges. it will not be worth while to wait any time for the Licence but as soon as you are reloaded return immediately for Beverly where shall hope in due time to see you safely arrive.

[*Signed*] ZACH'H BURCHMORE.

FROM ZACHARIAH BURCHMORE.

CHARLESTOWN, SO. CAROLINA,
Jany. 10th, 1775

GENTLEMEN, — this Day I Receiv'd yours per Capt. Thrash and Now haveing an Opertunity by the way of New port I would inform you that I ariv'd hear after 25 Days passage ware I find Marketts for Rum very Dull @ preasant and no posability of selling it @ preasant, and I thought it most for your Interest to Value my self on some Mearchent and Accordingly I have on Crouch & Gray with Giveing them one half Commishons. we have not sold any Rum Yet On Account of Cristmas holidays thir Being no Vendue. the Last Rum sold hear @ 13/ But since that thir is Large Quanties Arriv'd from phelidelpha so that I'm Affraid we shant Obtain more than 11/6 I have stored all the Rum and as Crouch & Gray has Agree'd to Lode me with Rice @ 50/ I shall make all the Dispach I Can Consistant with your Intrest and shall sail in About 10 Days for Cadiz ware I should be Glad of your further Advice. I Larn by Capt. George [Cabot's]

[2] A fanega varies from a bushel to a bushel and a half.

letter that the House you Advis'd toe in Cadiz is Brock and by his Advice I shall Go to Duff & Welch. I have now 200 Casks of Rice on Board and all the rest Ingag'd. I am Your Humble Servt.

ZACHH. BURCHMORE.

P.S. Your Certifacit Came hear in March Last and Your Bonds is Cancell'd.

I Beleve I shall Make the Rice Licence Answer.

Endorsed: Recd. Feb. 7, 1775.

FROM CROUCH & GRAY.

CHARLESTOWN, So. CAROLINA,
Jany. 18th. 1775.

GENTLEMEN: — Your Brigt. *Union,* Captain Zachariah Burchmore, arrived here the 21 ulto. with a Cargo of Rum and some money in order to purchase a load of Rice. the Captain finding it impossible to dispose of his Rum so as to get away in a reasonable time, apply'd to our House to do his Business, upon sharing the Commissions, that is to say 2½ per Ct. for selling and 1¼ for purchasing, which however is not the Custom of the place, the established Charge being 5 per Ct. for selling and 5 per Ct. for purchasing, besides 2½ per Ct. for Storage of inward Cargo, which we must have Charged had the Vessel been Consigned to us, and we have only derogated from Custom in this instance merely to oblige the Captain and to serve you, as it would have been out of the Captain's power to have loaded 'till he had dispos'd of his Rum, which there was not the least probability of his doing for a month or two to come. We have put on board 412 Barrels of excellent Rice purchased for ready Money at 50/ our Currency per 100 l., and he is now waiting for a Wind. We could have despatch'd him at least ten days sooner had not the Holidays interven'd and prevented the Rice coming to Town from the Country.

As soon as we have disposed of the Rum (which is now a glut) we shall immediately close the sales and transmit them to you. We are fearful that the Rum will be sold to a loss, notwithstanding we have done all in our power to prevent it by keeping it up for a better price, for there has been such an amazing quantity in within this six Weeks that people supply'd themselves before Christmass with a sufficient stock to last them for a considerable time. had your Vessel arrived here a Month sooner she would have come to a good Market, having our selves sold a Cargo of

near 7000 Gallons for Mr. Derby in November for more than two shillings sterling a Gallon round, and coud at that time have sold as much more at the same price. let this be your government in future, that about a month or six weeks before Christmass is the time for New England Vessels to arrive here. we have not yet received a single shilling upon the Rum, however, we shall not be discouraged, but will keep it a little longer in hopes of a better price. at present we suppose that we could not obtain 11/ for the whole of it, which is above 3/ less than we sold for six weeks ago. Your Capt. George Cabot arrived here about a fortnight since from Cadiz, and intends purchasing [*torn*] part and letting out the remainder. We will be happy to see him and should be glad to render him or any of your Connections every service in our power, being at all times with very great Respect and Esteem, Gentlemen, Your most obedt. servants,

CROUCH & GRAY.

P.S. We have sent you Certificate to Cancel your Bond.

Addressed: To Capt. Joseph Lee & Company, Merchants, Beverley, New England. Per Capt. Lewis, via New York.

Endorsed: Recd. Febr. 14, 1775.

FROM ZACHARIAH BURCHMORE.

CHARLESTOWN, SO. CAROLINA,
Jany. 19, 1775.

GENTLEMEN, — this my second via New York. In which I would inform you that I am Loded and Redy for sea the first wind. I have on Board 412 Casks of Rice on Cargo Containing 220,007 lbs. wt. we have sold But very Little Rum yet and that @ 12/ as the place is full of it. I have setteld with Messrs. Croach and Gray as near as posable, but have not Closd the Accounts. I have Advis'd with Capt. Cabot and he thinks as there is so many Vessels Gon to Lisbon, Cadiz and the straits that there is the Best prospect @ Croina [Corunna] or Bilboa ware with his advice I shall proseed thinking it most for Your Intrest and as I'm Obligd to Go to England I may posablely git a freight that way which may help the Voyage. You menchen'd my takeing a Lode of Salt and Coming home or Going to the West Indies the Latter he Avises me to pursue if when I am [in] Spain I Judge it for Your Intrest. I'm Your humb. Servent,

ZACKH. BURCHMORE.

Endorsed: Recd. Feb. 14, 1775.

From Crouch & Gray.

Charlestown, So. Carolina,
14th Febry, 1775.

Gentlemen, — We wrote you the 18th of last month to which we refer, sence when we have finish'd the Sales of your Rum, and inclos'd we furnish you with the Accots balance due us Two hundred and three pounds seventeen shillings and three pence our Currency, or Twenty Nine pounds two shillings and six pence Sterling for which we shall draw upon you very soon. You will please Observe that we have saved for you the Duty upon near two Thousands Gallons of the Rum, which is at least five and Twenty Guineas in your Pocket, and which is not affected but by considerable pains, and being upon the best terms with the officers here.

We are sorry it was not in our power to render you more acceptable Sales, but the great quantitys of Rum that has arriv'd here within two months past has knocked down the price of that article from 15/ to 10/ this money, several whole Cargoes having been sold for the latter price, tho' we are thankful we have not been necessitated to sell *any* so low.

Your Capt. George Cabot sailed over our Bar last Friday, after having been detain'd a fortnight by contrary Winds. We sincerely wish you better Sales in your next adventure and beg leave to repeat our assurances of rendering you every service here we are capable of, being very respectfully, Gentlemen, Your most obedt. Servants,

Crouch & Gray

Endorsed: Recd. Mar. 12, 1775.

From Zachariah Burchmore.

Lisbon, March 14, 1775.

Gentlemen, — this by the way of philidelpha In which I would inform you that I arrived @ Crounia [Corunna] after 27 days ware the Rice would have sold very well had not a ship Arrived 3 weeks Before me with 600 Casks from philidelpha I lay in Crouina 8 days in which time we had news from Bilboa Feroll Vigo But found it would not Answer and with the Advice of Messrs. OReeily & Smith I proseeded to Cascais ware I Got News from Lisbon in a Letter from Mr. Houston in which he told me he knew of no Better prospect than this as his frindly Correspondents to the Southward had not for some time quoted the Value

of Rice he in short Advis'd me to come in and declare I was put in By distress of weather till he Could hear from Barcelone which was the next day in which his frinds told him they had a plentifull supply and Mr. Houston told me he Could Git 3100 for my Rice But must Give 4 month Credite I told him the necessity of haveing more Money for my Cargo and that I Could not Deliver it without. the next day arriv'd 2 ships from Cadiz Loded with Rice so I thought it would not be prudent to Leve this, and an Opertunity offered, my Cargo is sold @ 3000 the Cash to Be paid in 10 Days and as I can not Larn that Matters is Likely to be setteled Between Europ and Americe I shall take in 100 Moys [3] of salt and proseed to Falmouth to pay the Dalys on the Rice and proseed home without Counter Orders from you should advise Other ways. we Can not Larn hear that Maters will Be settled But that this is 11 sail of ships fiting out for Americe and it is the Oppinion of the Mearchants hear that the Acts will all Be inforst But as I shall Be Better able to hear wen I Git in England till then I shall Make all the dispach I can Consistant with your Intrest, and am your Humble Servent

ZACK'H BURCHMORE.

Endorsed: Recd. May the 16th 1775.

FROM JAMES HOUSTON.

LISBON, March 27, 1775

GENTLEMEN, — The present serves to inform you that Cap. Zachariah Burchmore in your Brig *Union* arrivd here with a Cargoe of 408 whole, 4 half Barrels Rice from Carolina the 2d inst. to my address, a proof of your remembrance which claims my gratefull acknowledgements, in return I wish the situation of our Market for this article had been more favorable, or that the Encouragement elsewhere had admitted of forwarding the Brig from hence. but as neither was the case there only remained to do the best that circumstances woud give room for: Cap. Burchmore imparted to me the first plan of his Voyage which had it been practicable must I think have answer'd, but as the resolves of your Congress set it entirely aside, he alter'd his Scheme and thought it most for your interest to endeavor at a ready sale for Cash which however when he sent to me in from off the Barr for advice I coud give him very little hopes of, however I exerted my diligence and found a purchaser for the whole Cargoe at 3000

[3] A word derived from the Latin *modium* through the French *muid,* but of uncertain measure. It appears to have been used only in the salt trade.

pounds damage excepted of which I am extremely sorry to tell you there is a very considerable Quantity owing I imagine to the Planks of the Vessell not having been properly season'd which occasiond the water to soak thro' the pores of the Wood; this accident reduces the Sale considerably; the quantity of what is damaged is not yet ascertain'd as every day more and more is found and til I can come at the certainty it will be impossible for me to send you the Account sales, but you may depend on its being forwarded with all possible brevity. had the scheme Cap. Burchmore adopted admitted of retailing the cargoe at the current prices and at credit the produce woud certainly have been more considerable by at least 150 rs [reis] per lb. but then he coud not have carried any cash with him: in short be assured I have attended to your interest in the same manner as I woud do were the concern my own. Inclosed you have bill of Loading and Invoice for 100 Moys [4] of Salt shipt on the *Union* the amount 257$170 is placed to your debit as are also the several Port charges as noted hereunder. and 72$000 paid the Captain for which he will account to you. I also delivered him a bill for £80 to defray his duties and charges at Falmouth for which place he sails tomorrow morning. this I charge to you at the present Exch[ange] of 65⅞*d* per $ in 291$461 together with 2944$000 delivered him in Half Joes: all which be pleased to note in my conformity. I must not conclude without mentioning the diligence and zeal for your interest shewn by Cap. Burchmore in his transactions with me. it woud be happy for the Concern'd were all masters actuated by the same principles.

I have just agreed a Cargoe of Summer fish at 2750 reis and I doubt not but these terms may rather advance than decline, as I think there is no appearance of glutted Markets by the time the new fish can come forward.

It will be proper to observe to you that the duties and charges on Rice amount with us to about 600 reis which of course are deducted from the Sale. this I mention that you may not be disappointed in your Calculations about the price I quoted; this article in general sells more equally well at this market than any where else in Europe as the consume is extraordinary, but so many arrivals before and since Cap. Burchmore's have reduced the value below what may on an Average be reputed its real Standard about 600 [reis]. I am truely, Gentlemen, your most obedt. Servant

JAMES HOUSTON

[4] The 100 moys gave 1264 bushels of salt, which was somewhat short of what should have been had. The duty on imported salt was 1–54/100*d*. a bushel.

Cap. Burchmore talks of proceeding to the West Indies. shoud he come this way with a cargoe of good Sugars I think he may meet with Success, for tho' they are prohibited importation great Sales are often made under Franquia and a freight sometimes given to the ship but this depends on Circumstances.

Consulage	9$	Lisbon Port Charges	36$780
Bellem Port Charges	16$600	Pilotage in	5$600

Addressed: To Messrs. Joseph Lee & Co. Salem, New Eng. per Ct. Hunt, Q. D. C.

Endorsed: Recd. 26 May, 1775.

FROM ZACHARIAH BURCHMORE.

LISBON, March 28th, 1775

GENTLEMEN, — I should be Glad to Give you such Information as would be more agreeable than to tell you that Mr. Houston has not Acted like the Gentleman I took him for, from his invitation I came hear as he rote me [a] Letter to Cascus in which he said, he knew not any Market so Good as this as he was selling at 3100 when I Came in with the Vessell and talkt with him he told me that if I would leve the Cargo with him he could Git 3100 *m* for it. I told him I could not deliver it without haveing the Money for it. the next Day he told me he could Obtain 3000 *m* for the Cargo and notwithstanding the dutys and charges it would pay a very hansome freight. when I come to Deliver it we found 5 or 6 Casks somthing Damag'd which he has sence maid a Grait Difficulty abought and tells me he can not Close my Accounts on that Account But that he will Remitt home to you the Account Sales and the Ballance in Capt. Coller [5] of Marblehead. he has Advanc'd me about 460 half Joes and Given me a Bill for £80 sterling to pay the Dutys in falmouth and I have 100 Moys salt on Board and this Day shall sail for falmouth [6] and am your Humb Servt.

ZACKH: BURCHMORE.

Endorsed: Recd. May 26, 1775.

[5] Collyer.

[6] The duties paid at Falmouth on the rice landed at Lisbon amounted to £62, being a "half subsidy" and fees. The salt was sold at Falmouth for £64.4.3. The net proceeds of this voyage were £877.11.5.

FALMOUTH, May 4th, 1775

GENTLEMEN, — Sence I Arrived hear I find by the Late Acts that it is inconsistant with your Intrest to proseed home at preasent, and Imposable to bring home the salt I had on Board. thirefore have sold it for something Better than the First Cost and takeing in Ballast, and this Day I shall with the Advice of Capt. John Cabot who Ariv'd hear 4 Days Ago proseed for the West Indes ware I shall take in such Goods as I Judge most for your Intrest and proseed home or Return Back to Europe again as I Can Best Judge when I'm thire and for as the preasant state of Affairs stands Between Grait Britton and the Colonies we Can not think of any Better way to proseed, for it is the Oppinion of most hear that a sivell war will Commence in America as thire is Grait preperations makeing hear for it. I Expected to have had Avice from you when I Arriv'd at Falmouth But have found non nor have I Recivd a Letter sence I Left Caralina so that in these Criticol times I have Bin Graitly at a Loss what to do. I have at preasant the satisfaction of Advising with Capt. John Cabot on the matter and pray God the Resolutions we have taken may turn to your Intrest and satisfaction. that is all I wish and Am your most Humble Servent

ZACK'H BURCHMORE.

Endorsed: Recd. July the 12th, 1775.

FROM JOSEPH BANFIELD.

FALMOUTH, May 6th, 1775.

DEAR SIR, — The present serves to acquaint you that on the 16th Ulto. your Brig. *Union* Cap: Zach: Burchmore, arrived here from Lisbon with a Ballast of Salt, and in order to deliver up his Rice Licence and Cancell the bond. Upon his Arrival here he Applyed to me to sell his Salt, which having Advertised I sold at Pub: Sale at 15d$\frac{1}{4}$ per Bushel which was 1$d\frac{1}{4}$ per B'l higher than a parcell had just before been sold at. I furnish'd him with Acco't sales of the same and paid him the Neat proceeds in Specie. This parcell of Salt fell Considerably short of the weight, having turned out only 1264 Bushels, when had it made out as Usuall, the Quantity would have been 1500 Bushels, it commonly turning out 15 Bushels to the Moy, whereas yours per *Union* did not make out 13. Salt is very Cheap here on Account of the failure in the fishery, and no Encouragement for stocking salt, the old stocks lying on hand. I have $\frac{2}{3}$ds of the Salt by me in Cellar which I bought of you in the year 1772.

Capt. Burchmore was at a Loss on Account of the Critical Situation of Pub: Affairs which track to pursue. I furnished him with an Abstract of the Late restraining Act on your Province and Neighbouring ones, upon which he Resolved to proceed for the West Indies and carry the Amount of his Cargo of Rice sold at Lisbon which he brought in Specie with him. He sailed yesterday with a fair Wind. I sincerely wish him a successful and safe Voyage.

Mr. John Cabot is now here clearing out a Cargo of Tobacco in the *Tryall,* Capt. Higginson, from Virginia for Spain, and will be ready to sail from hence in about a Week from this. We now wait with Eager Expection the result of the Late Acts to know in what manner they will be received in America. It is now the Crisis, and we Anxiously look towards America, Indeed the Eyes of all Europe are upon America to see how she will behave in this last Grand Tryall. I beg my best Compliments to your Brother and all friends and I pray God to keep you under his Protection, being very sincerely, Dear Sir, your mostt Obedient Servt.

JOSEPH BANFIELD.

Endorsed: Recd. July 12, 1775.

FROM ZACHARIAH BURCHMORE.

ST. EUSTATIA, June 19, 1775.

GENTLEMEN, — I am at preasant in the Utmost Confution to Determen what to do as I find it will be imprudent to Come home with out too Grait a Risk of haveing your Interest Confisticated. I have about nine Hundred pounds sterling which I shall Lay out in shugar and Coco and proseed to Bilboa ware I think your intrest will be saftist. the Gentlemen hear that I take to be my friends think it the prudentest Corse I can take. I should bin very Glad to have had your advice when I arrived hear but as I suppose the Letters from Falmouth is not come to hand I Cant Expect it. I am this Day Bound for St. Martains for shuger and I hope to Git out of the West Indies in ten Days.[7] should my Wife be in want of Money, as it is possible she will Before I can Come home I should be Glad if you would supply her and will Do the utmost that Lays in my power with your Interest and am your Humble Servt.

ZACK. BURCHMORE.

Endorsed: Recd. July 24, 1775.

[7] He bought at St. Martins 71 hogsheads of sugar, 62,936 pounds, at thirty-five to thirty-eight shillings and 10,187 pounds of cocoa at seventy-five shillings per hundredweight.

PHELIDELPHA, July 17, 1775

Sir, — I arrived hear the 11th of this month from the West Indies with shuger and Coco which I purchased thire in Order to go to Europe as per Advice. I wrote you by Capt. Allcock that I should go to Bilboa But after I had Bin out a few Day I spoke Brigt from Gibralter who said that he Expected thare was a spanish war by this Time, and as the goods I had on Board would not answer any ware Ells but in spain I thought it would not be prudent for me to proseed and when I Came hear I found Mr. Andrew Cabot and am very happy to find one who can Act with more propritaty than my self in those Diffulct Times and I shall deliver up all the Accounts to Mr. Cabot for a settlement and for the Rest Refare you to his Letter. as I dont Expect to Come I should be Glad if you would supply my wife with Twelve Guines which I will Reduct from my wages and I wish you would write me if you can tell me ware she is. I am your most Hum. Servent

ZACK'H BURCH[M]ORE.

Endorsed: Recd. July 28, 1775.

PHILADELPHIA, July 20th, 1775

SIR, — I wrote you by the Last post in which I Gave the reasons for my Comeing hear but sence I have bin hear I find I could have Come home, which in all probibility would have Bin More for your Intrest as the Goods I Brought hear are very Dull at preasant and when I Came in the River I Came immedeately up to Town ware Mr. Cabot Told me I Could not Go Home and said I had took the Most prudent steep I posobley Could in Comeing hear. I have Discharged all hands but the Mate and now wate for your Answer what to do, I have Clear'd out for Gibralter and shall Grave the Vessel which Must be Don if you send her Out again or not. if you send her Out again I shall settle all Accounts with Mr. Cabot and the whole of My wages I shall Leve which if you think proper pay to My wife which will be Adding to your stock hear and save me the Truble and Risk of sending it home. What Ever you Order to be Don with your Vessel I wish May turne More for your Intrest then it has heather too. Your Most Hum. Servent

ZACK. BURCHMORE.

Endorsed: Recd. August 5, 1775

ANDREW CABOT TO DUFF AND WELCH.

[A draught.]

PHILADELPHIA, Augt. [1775.]

GENTN, — Not being favourd with any late Advices from your House shall confine myself wholly to the Business of our Brigt. *Union's* Voyage. Her Cargo which Consists principally of Flour is not altogether for your Markett, being heavy and light Com, Ditto Fine and S. fine, but the distracted Situation of Trade here rendered it impossible for to obtain any Cargo more Suitable and it was with the utmost difficulty that I coud procure this even at the amazing high Prices which are now given. Shoud you think it adviseable to carry the Superfine and Fine, or the whole, to any other Markett we have Orderd the Master to proceed to any Port that you direct. Gibralter is Generally the best place for selling Superfine and Fine. However, of that Matter you will be the best judges. As it is absolutely necessary our Brigt. shoud be kept in some Trade without returning to the Colonies We must beg the Favour of you to advance him as near the Amount of the Cargo as you possibly can. If you shoud immagine any Hazard of Great Brittain's makeing reprisals of American Property shoud be glad you woud devise some method to prevent our Vessels being endangered by altering the Property or any other way that you think best.

Shoud any advantageous Freight or Freights Offer shoud Gladly embrace them. As it's impossible to give any Advice as evry Day alters Appearances therefore leave the whole Matter with you not Doubting your utmost Exertions for our Interests. You may possibly be a little Surprized to receive a Letter from me at Philadelphia, but the distracted Situation at the time of the Lexington Battle throwing all Business into Confusion, and in great expectation of Our Brigt. *Rambler,* Mr. G: Cabot or my Partner Mr. J: C: in our Brigt. *Tryal* making for this Place, together with being Stocked with Goods and uncertain what might take place I thought it adviseable to remove my stock in Trade and myself and Family to this Place. You will find by the Inclosd Invoice and Bill Lading that the greater Part of the Flour of evry kind is light. Shoud Capt. Burchmore, after having disposed of his Cargo, go to the West Indies shoud be glad you woud inform him what Articles will best suit your Markett (the Quantity and particular kind). I am with the greatest Respect and Esteem, Gentn: your Most Obedient hble. servt.

AND'W CABOT.

Instructions to Captain Burchmore.

Philadelphia, 21st August, 1775.

Capt. Burchmore, — You having the Command of Our Brigt. *Union*, Our Orders are that you immediately proceed to Cadiz and deliver your Letters to Messrs. Duff and Welch and advise with them respecting the delivery of your Cargo there or proceeding to any other Port. I have in my Letter to Messrs. Duff and Welch desired them to advance you the Amount of your Cargo nearly or quite, as the present Disputes between Great Britain and her Colonies may prevent your returning home, therefore it's absolutely necessary you shoud have it in your power to go upon some Voyage on our Account which you cannot possibly Effect unless the Merchants that receive your Cargo Advance you the Value thereof. If after your Cargo is deliverd and you can with Safety (by the Disputes being at an end) and it is not forbid by the Congress, go to Malaga and Falmouth we woud have you do it. Your Cargo from Malaga shoud advise to consist of 150 Quarter Casks of Wine, 60 Do. Figgs, one Ton of Almonds, 20 Casks of Olive Oil if the Price does not exceed 2/6 sterling per gall. and the remainder, after having reserved Money enough to pay your Duties in Falmouth, in Raisons. after having been to Falmouth make the utmost Dispatch for Beverly. But if the Disputes shoud remain as they now are or if the Congress shoud not give Liberty for such a Voyage then endeavour to procure some Advantageous Freight or Freights and Order your Money deposited in the Hands of Messrs. Kirkpatrick and Escott of Malaga. but if neither of the beforementioned Plans answer and upon Enquiry you can see any probability of making a Freight from the West Indies back to Europe, we woud have you proceed to the West Indies, and if upon your Arrival in the West Indies you find you can with Safety return to Beverly we woud have you with a Load Melasses Sugar etc. as the prices may be. but if you cannot return home then purchase Coffee Cocoa and Sugar or such other Articles as you may learn in Europe are best Calculated for their Marketts. remember that Cocoa if it is of the Yellow Shell it will not answer. it must be the Dark black Shell and shoud it be as low as 10 or 11 Pieces of Eight woud have you take largely of it unless our Friends in Europe advise to the contrary desire them to give you a Memorandum of such Articles as will answer the Quantity and particular kind as its very probable you will meet Mr. John or Capt. George Cabot advise with them and obey their directions and Advice respecting evry Matter. By no means whatever break

one single Act or Resolution of the Continental [Congress] or any other Congress Committee etc. Nor any Acts of Trade. I wish you a good Voyage, etc.

AND: CABOT.

Our Friends at Cadiz, Messrs. Duff & Welch & Co.
Malaga, Kirkpatrick & Escorte.
Gibralter, Robert Anderson.
Barcelona, Wambwells & Arabet.
Lisbon, James Houston (unless further Orders).
Bilboa, Joseph Gardoqui & Sons.

Remember upon your Arrival to desire your Merchants to draw upon Mr. Houston for the ballance of your last Voyage.

I acknowledge the preceding a true Copy of my Orders.

ZACH'H BURCHMORE.

FROM ZACHARIAH BURCHMORE.

CADIZ, Octo. 22d. 1775.

GENTLEMEN, — I wrote you per Capt. Jones of Marblehead that I could not tell ware I should go from hear, but sence that I have the Good fortune to Gitt a Freight of Weet for Forroll which is more then I Expected ware I may make About 600 Dollars I am know allmost unloded and my Cargo Comes out in Good Order the prices of flour I menchend in my first that is ten Dollars per Barrell for Common Eleven and half for superfine staves @ 50 Dollars per M. with respect to policicks we find by the Last London papers that the parlement is Determined to pursue matters in America as the Graitest part of the people in England have publicly Declared they will stand by the King with thire Lives and fortunes, so there is know prospect of an acomodation so I shall order the money for the Cargo Deposet'd as you Orderd me, and proseed with my Freight, I shall in all things Advise with your Friends in respect to your Intrest. And am your most Obedt. Humble Servent

ZACK'H BURCHMORE.

Endorsed: Recd. Dec. 27, 1775.

FROM JAMES HOUSTON, JR.

LISBON, Oct. 27, 1775.

GENTLEMEN, — By last Post I received a letter from Capt. Zachariah Burchmore, dated Cadiz the 6 inst. he therein gives

me orders to remit the balance of your adventure per the *Union* to Messrs. Duff and Welsh of that place, which you may depend I shall comply with the first proper Opportunity and I embrace with pleasure the present one of forwarding you Accs't sales of that one Cargoe, the net Proceed whereof being 3859$258 is carried to the credit of your account Current annexd in which you'll see charged 90$803 for the abatements I have been obliged to make on account of the damaged Rice. however considerable you may deem this drawback I assure you it is much less than I apprehended woud have been the case from the miserable situation of the Cargoe nor it is easy to conceive the trouble and vexation I have experienced with the Health office on that Account. in short this Speculation has proved a disagreeable one to you, Gentlemen, as well as to me, for it always give me pain to be prevented from serving my friends as I coud wish; and I can assure you from my certain knowledge that the purchaser, with whom the Health Office has not been quite so indulgent, and what with abatements he also has been obliged to make for damage in barrels which appeared to be sound and Good, does not see the interest of his money in the proffits he makes.

I must observe that Capt. Burchmore hints as if he had before given me directions how to remit your balance, which, if he did, never came to my hands, and tho' they had it woud not have been practicable sooner. he carried it seems a Cargoe of flour which by what he mentions is not like to meet a favorable Issue; here the value is at present at 3100 per bl. and a large quantity on hand. Rice has advanced to 3800 per bl. at which I doubt not but it will make a stand for some time.

Our Market is not destitute of fish but the intelligence receiv'd of the damage sustaind at the land by the Equinoctial Hurricane has induced holders to keep back their best quality and to demand even 5600 per bl. for the second Sort, these are certainly most extravagant terms but if too much don't drop in the value of this article must, I think, be very high during the Season.

We are impatiently waiting the sitting of the Parliament in hopes that some healing measures may be thought of to cure the breach made by the present unhappy Disturbances which God in his infinite goodness inspire. I am truly, Gentlemen, your most obedient servant

JAMES HOUSTON, JR.

Wine at present 12500 per Cask, but will be, I think, extremely cheap very soon as the vintage has been abundant. Oyl the same,

it may be now quoted at about 18$000 per Cask. Lemons abundant and will be shipt I dare say cheaper than has been known for many years. Salt about 1400 per Moy.

Addressed: Messrs. Joseph Lee & Co. Salem. Per favor of Capt. Wm. Andrews of the *Storke*. Q. D. C.
Endorsed: Recd. Decr. 26, 1775.

DUFF & WELSH TO ANDREW CABOT.

CADIZ the 30 October, 1775.

SIR, — We had the pleasure of writeing you under date of the 6 inst: adviseing the safe arrival here of your Brig *Union,* Captn. Zachery Burchmore, and that we would do every thing in our power relative to the sale of the cargoe and promoteing such other voyage for the Brig as might judge most suitable to your advantage. We have now the pleasure to inform you that we have had the good fortune to sell the whole cargoe of flour to Messrs. Moeraert Van de Vennet & Cordon, an house of undoubted solidity here at 12/m credit with 3 per cent interest for the last 6 months the common flour at $10, and the Superfine do. and Treil(?) at $11½, and the whole is now delivered and we have further obtained a freight for the *Union* of wheat and provisions for the King's account for Ferrol with which she is now loaded and will be ready to proceed we expect tomorrow. Shall recommend Captn. Burchmore to our friend at Ferrol to assist him in endeavouring to procure him a freight from thence to the Mediterranean, in defect thereof he must return here to see what further will be best to be done according to the turn public affairs may take. in consequence of the faculty which you give us and with a view to secure your property at all events we have judged it convenient to pass a sale of the Brig before our Consul (pro forma) in favour of William Dalrymple Esqr. of this city, a Brittish subject, and have made out new articles for Captn. Burchmore and the Crew and given him instructions signed by said Mr. Dalrymple Esqr. for his further regulation. Shall be happy that it may so turn out as to render said precautions unnecessary, but its good to guard against the worst, when it can be done at a small expence. have not heard from your Brothers since our last but believe they were at Barcelona and expect hearing from them by the next post. Flour continues quite heavy here, and little appearance of being otherways. and wheat is a drug at all marketts. and affords us a particular Satisfaction to have had it in our power to serve you

so effectually at such a juncture as the present when flour is next to invendible and so many vessells lyeing by the weeks. We are with esteem, Sir, your obedt. humble servts.

DUFF & WELSH.

By a vessell will be sailing in 8 or 10 days hence will send you account sales of the *Union's* cargoe and advise you the freight she may make which will goe to from 5 to 600 hard dollars.

to the use of Messrs. Dan'l & Mich'l Rundle.

Account Sales Charges and nett proceeds of Cargo of Flour and Staves per the Brigt. *Union,* Zack'h Burchmore, for Account of Messrs. Joseph Lee Co.

		Rials Vellon
1775	389 barrells Superfine flour to Moraert	
Oct. 31	Vendervennet in 12/m @ 11½	35788
	628 Ditto Common to Ditto @ 10	50240
		86028
	Interest for the last 6/m @ 3%	2580
		88608
Nov. 30	2 M 250 Staves @ 52 ps.	1227.8
barr	3 [barrels]	160
	2 "	240
		90235.8

Charges.	Paid his Account port Charges	280	
	National Dutys on 100 tons 2 ps.	200	
	Primage to the Capt. 5 Guines @ 39	258.17	
	Brokerage on 87655 at [1] per cent	876.17	
	Commissions 3 per cent	2629.21	4244:21
To the Owner account for Neet proceeds			85990:21

Errors Excepted.

CADIZ the 15 Decem. 1775 DUFF & WELSH.

Endorsed: Rec. 30 Novr. 1776.

FROM ZACHARIAH BURCHMORE.

CADIZ, February 7th, 1775 [1776]

GENTLEMEN, — I take this Opertunity Fearing it will be the Last I shall have untill those unhappy Differances subside, as the late Diabolacal act of parliment is to take all American ships. and would Inform you that I arrived at Cadiz the 8 of Jeneory

from Ferroll ware I went with a freight of weet and flour on the King Spain acct. the portickilars of which I wrote you in my Last from Cadiz of the 22d. Octr. and I have this Day In gaug'd a Freight from this to Alicant of Shuger and Coco ware I shall make But a poor freight as the times are very Dull and all freights very Low. thire is many ships heare without Imploy and have Bin this some time. But as I am to a very Good house and I think with prejudice the Best in Cadiz I shall not be without a freight if thire is any sturing. my sails Begins to Be very Old and Bad so that I shall be under necessity of Gitting some new ones very soon. But I shall make them do as Long as I Can and not Go to any Expence for feare of the worst tho I have with the Advice of Messrs. Duff & Welsh taken all the precaushons that I can to secure Your Intrest. I have not heard from Capt. George Cabot since the 5 of Novr. then he was at Barcelona without a freight and had been for some time. please to Let my friends know that I'm well if they may be found. and if my wife should want money you'll please to supply her with it.

and I am, Gentlemen, with the Cordial Respect Your most obedt. and Humb. Servent

Zach'h Burchmore.

Endorsed: Recd. 27 March, 1776.

From James Houston.

Lisbon, March 12, 1776

Gentlemen, — I wrote you under the 27 October, which as I understand the Vessell arrivd in Safety, I hope you have received in course, agreable thereto I remitted under the 7th of the following month the balance of your account to Messrs. Duff & Welsh in a good bill for Dubs(?) 39.28.32 making at 2390 per Dn. 95$373 which you'll please to pass in conformity. Altho Cap. Burchmore did not complain to me of the measure of his Salt yet my Correspondent at Falmouth hinted it to me, on settling therefore my accounts with the Shipper I insisted on his making me an allowance in part of the deficiency and with some difficulty I obtained an abatement of 28$800 which sum I carry to your credit and hope some future Opportunity may arise to enable my remitting it to you but *at present* there's no very great appearance of the present troubles being accommodated as I coud wish. the value of Rice is up at 4$000 to 4200 per bl. very little of the Carolina Growth in town. flour continues moderate on account of the very inferior quality of what remains on hand and this

affects the price of Grain exceedingly. Being what at present offers I have only to assure you of my wishes for your happiness, that I am truly, Gentlemen, your most obedt. Servant,

JAMES HOUSTON

Endorsed: Recd. the 21st March and forwarded the 23d do by y. h. s. Gardoqui & Sons.

Recd. May 16, 1776.

FROM JOSEPH GARDOQUI & SONS.

BILBOA, 7 Septr. 1776.

DEAR SIRS, — We have before us your much esteemed favour 6th April in answer to which have to reply saying that Capt. Burchmore arriv'd safe here some time ago and after a mature consideration neither said Capt. or us thought safe to send him out again, besides freights being scarce and miserable he determin'd to lay here and prepare his vesell to Comply with your orders, so that he is now ready and we have the pleasure to inform you that our worthy freinds Messrs. John, George and Francis Cabotts are just arriv'd last from Cadiz whom we shall concult in whatever regards your adventure; The first article you order is not to be mett with so that we shall add the others as you desire and shall inform you per our sequels, as we expectt to have frequent oportunities hence forward: Our freinds Messrs. Duff & Welsh promise to make the provision you order, but suposing they did not you know you shoud not be disapointed, therefore comand and wish you all manner of success in the adventure. We long for news from your quarters and wish most heartily that an agreable and satisfactory acomodation may take place, and that the Allmighty may preserve you during the present troublesome times to comand, Dr. Sirs, Your most obt. servts.

JOSEPH GARDOQUI & SONS.[8]

Endorsed: Recd. Oct. 30th 1776.

[BILBOA], 6th Octr. 1776.

DEAR SIRS, — The foregoing copy of our last [9] respects we confirm, since which we are still in pain for news from your quarters: no arrivall at all and you may well supose how we long for it, in

[8] The first Spanish representative to the United States was Don Diego Gardoqui, with the rank of *chargé d'affaires*, but his relations with the merchants of the name are not known.

[9] September 7, 1776.

the meantime have to repeatt that our marketts prospectt is pretty good for Importation and exportation of all articles. therefore hope you will Improve successfully: Our good freinds Messrs. Cabotts think that Capt. Burchmore ought to wait still to a latter time so that we wait for nothing else, altho' our Cadiz freinds have made no provition as yett for the purchase of your cargoe, however this would not detain him so that our sequels will ynform you of whatever occurrs. In the mean time subscrive with real sincerety

We are on the 14th Inst. and Capt. John Lee come in but brings no news at all. Our Cadiz freinds have already made some remittances on your Brothers Accots.

DEAR SIRS: — We are on the 19th Octre and all hands for going in haste so refer you to your Brothers Mr. George and Mr. Francis, for news, and a good sight of them after a prosperous voyage subscriving verely Dr. Sirs, your most hble. servts.

Dr. Sirs, your most hble. servts.

JOSEPH GARDOQUI & SONS.

Endorsed: Recd. 30th November, 1776.

FROM ZACHARIAH BURCHMORE.

BILBOA, Sepr. 10, '76.

GENTLEMEN, — I arrived at Bilboa the 5th of July from Dunkirk, ware I found Letter from you under the 6th of April. Ordering me on the Recipt of it to proseed to some Convenant port to Load salt, But as I had no Rigester on Board nor by no meanes suffishantly Cover'd, (had I met a king's ship) I thought it would not be prudent to run the resque mearly for the profitts on a Load salt as thaire was not any one at Bilboa that would freight my Vessel, however I Determined to Lay till I could have Messrs. John and George Cabots Aprobation (who I Lernt ware at Cadiz) and had the satisfaction to receive it, Ading they ware much pleas'd with my tarring thire till a proper time to proseed homewards. I have got a new Main topsail to the Brign. and shall Before I sail furnish her with new sails and every thing that may be nesessary, and have rote to france for 6 swivel Guns as they are not to be had here. Messrs. John, George and francis Cabot arriv'd hear the 1st. ins. from Cadiz and are all on Board of *Union* and probale will take passage with me, the 400 muskquts you

Orderd in memarandom will be hard to Git heare if not impossable. all the other goods are plenty Excepting Duck. that is scarce and Dear at preasent.[10] But thire is Vessels Dayly Expect with that Artical and handkerchifs are 118 R. Vellon. the stock in Cadiz will Be Considerable more then by your Letter you Expected, as I have remitted to Cadiz at several Differant times the Amount of 260 £ sterling Besides a small Ballance from James houston of Lisbon of my rice Voyage, so that the whole stock is about two thousand pounds sterling, but as I have a large portlage Bill to pay and shall be at Considerable Expence to put the Vessel in good Order, thire will be about Eighteen Hundred pounds ster'g to Lay out in such Goods as you Ordered [11] and which I shall Advise with Messrs. Cabots about in Every Respect. And as I shall sail the middle of November as you Orderd I must Begg you to git one Hundred pounds sterling Insurd for me or to put my wife in a way how she may do it as it is a peace of Bissiness she is not Acquanted with.

Salt is scarce hear at preasant But as thire is Vessels expected from Cadiz it will be plenty soon. the Last sold heare was at 10 RV per fanaque [fanega]. I shall write you soon after this per Capt. Flitcher of Newbary and be more portickular. I Remain Gentlemen your most Obediant and very Humble Servant

ZACK'H BURCHMORE.

Endorsed: Recd. Oct. 30th 1776.

BILBOA, Octr. 17th 1776.

GENTLEMEN, — I wrote you this Day per Capt. Barker of the schooner *two Brothers* of marblehead, the true state of my Affares and would only Add that I shall take all posable Care in Exciquting your Orders and be punktual to the time Limitted please God.

I have Inclosed you a Coppy of Acct from Diffe & Welsh in Cadiz to Messrs. Cabots for your Government, and shall in my next by Capt. Flitcher of Cape Ann send a Coppy of my freights sence I have Bin in spain. And Remain your humble Servent

ZACK'H BURCHMORE.

Endorsed: Per favour Capt. Cabot. Recd. Novr. 30, 1776.

[10] In a copy of this letter, dated October 15, was added: "which the Late Expedition has taken all up." The copy was sent by Capt. Barker and was received December 7, 1776.

[11] The copy reads: "to Lay out in goods for your Government. I have sence Bought 700 fangues of Salt @ 10 RVillon per fanague which is about 200 Hhd. and sufficient to Ballast any Vessel with other goods I shall have."

BILBOA, Oct. 18th 1776

GENTLEMEN, — I this Day wrote you by Capt George Cabot with which I inclos'd to you a Coppy of my flour voyage and heare you have a Coppy of my freights, made sence with the Charges in Cadiz. my Expences hear will be Considerable, as I wrote you in my formour Letters. the stock will be about 1800 £ sterling a Little more or Less to Lay out in Goods which I shall take Care to have on Board by the 10 of November so as not to Luse the first Opertunity of saleing, as I am very Desierous of Giting home as soon as possable. Everything you wrote for will be Got Excepting the arms which can not be Got heare. the swivel I wrote to france about I have had no Answer to yet But if they do not come I shall be able to git some old ones heare wihch will be better then non. the only thing I want now is men. but as I have wrote to a freind in Cadiz for some I Expect two hear every Day which will be my Compliment. I remain Gentlemen your most Obli'd and very Humble Servant

ZACK'H BURCHMORE.

Addressed: Per favour Capt. Flitcher.
Endorsed: Recd. Dec. 10, 1776.

FROM JOSEPH GARDOQUI & SONS.

BILBOA, 15th Novr. 1776

Dear Sirs, — We wrote you several letters to the 18th Ulto. per the several vessells gone lately, and wishing you a good sight of your two brothers, Messrs. George and Francis, have to add that we have everything ready for our freind Capt. Burchmore who waits only for a few hands so hope he will soon follow the bearer, and therefore refer you to our letters per him, observing to you that your orders will be complied with of course wish you heartly a good sight of him and to a good markett; our's continues good for ymportation and exportation, so wish you may ymprove it finely and you may depend on every assistance from those that long to hear from you, and remain truely, D'r Sirs, Your most hble. servts.

JOSEPH GARDOQUI & SONS.

Capt. Burchmore has every thing on board and will sell in a few days.

From Duff & Welsh.

Cadiz the 19 November 1776

Gentlemen, — Your esteem'd favour of the 26 April reached our hands so early as the 20 June, we immediately informed Messrs. Gardoqui that they might depend upon our punctual compliance with your directions, to remit them the proceeds of the *Union's* cargoe when in cash; and that if they wanted the funds sooner, they were welcome to draw for them, or that we would remit them under the usual Guarantee and discount. it seems they did not, and the term of payment haveing elaps'd, we have in consequence made them the needful remittance as you will perceive by the inclos'd abstract of your account current which if found right, you will please to pass in conformity, our Account with you being thereby struck for the present. We send this to our mutual freind Mr. John Cabot to be forwarded to you; to him we refer you for the state of comerce and other matters, and shall only add that we sincerely wish for opportunities of evinceing to you, the esteem and regard with which we are, Gentn., your most obedt. servts.

Duff & Welsh.

From Joseph Gardoqui & Sons.

[Bilboa,] 23d Novr. 1776.

Dear Sirs, — In consequence of our several letters and particularly of the above copy of our last respects have now to hand you Invoice and bill loading for goods shipp'd on your Brig *Union* Capt. Z. Burchmore which pray examine it and if free from Error pass to our credit Rs. Vn. 152168. 10. amount thereof advising us when at leissure. Said vessell is now ready to drop down and our worthy freind Mr. Jno. Cabott has determin'd to go along with her, so most cordially wish you a good sight of him after a prosperous and speedy passage which shall long to hear, as we do at present for directt news, haveing none but what comes thro' the other channell: our markett promises well and hope you will ymprove thro' the writer assur'd of every assistance that this port can afford therefore pray command for we shall be provided with Dutch and German goods all for your government and being what ocurrs we heartly repeatt our wishes for your well fare and the safe arrivall of the bearer to a good markett and subscrive affectionately,

Your few lines 30th June are just come to hand with the enclos'd for Burchmore which is deliver'd him.
Dear Sirs, Your most hble. servts.

JOSEPH GARDOQUI & SONS.

DEAR S'R, — Since writing the within the post from Cadiz has just now brought us a letter from our freinds Duff & Welsh with 3 bills on London datted the 12th Inst. at 3 months amounting to £528.7.9. and another on Madrid at 30 ds. for Rs. Vn. 13040, for which have creditted your Account Rs. Vn. 60931, doubting not of their meeting punctual discharge about which more per our sequels which being what time permits repeatt that we are truely, D'r S'rs, Your most hble. servts.

JOSEPH GARDOQUI & SONS.

[BILBOA,] 23d. Novr., 1776.

BILBOA, 28th Decre., 1776

DR. SIRS, — Since what had the pleasure to write you per the Capts. Burchmore and Collyer who departed the 27th Ulto. and hope 'ere long will gett to you in safety we continue without your favours, the present is therefore to ynform you that at foot of the remittances reced. on your Account which when in cash shall be pass'd to your creditt; In the mean time have to add that nothing new ocurrs in our markett which promises fairly to speculate with your's, therefore hope you will ymprove it: We still long for news from your quarters, but nothing apears; The bearer is a prize whose cargoe have sold and returns home, of consequence there is a prospect of doing many things so command freely, and wishing you all prosperity thro' the course of the aproaching and many ensuing years remain truely, Dr. Srs., Your most hble. servts.

JOSEPH GARDOQUI & SONS.

Rem[ittan]ce reced. from Duff & Welch of Cadiz and passed to your Credit r[eal]s V[ello]n 101165.6. besides which have also creditted you r[eal]s 1391, for p[rocee]ds of 150 Fanicks Salt left by Burchmore.

Rice from 90 to 96 rls. pr 100 lbs.

[BILBOA,] the 21st Jany., 1777.

DEAR SIRS, — The foregoing is duplicate of our last respects which no confirm, and being still without your favours altho'

James is arriv'd, have to repeatt that our markett bids fairly and believe might be ymprov'd by American articles except old fish, therefore long to assist you therein and to hear of our freind Burchmore's safe arrivall haveing with pleasure hear'd of your good and worthy Mr. George's safe arrivall; nothing material ocurrs therefore subscrive with perfectt esteem, Dear Sir, your most hble. servts.

JOSEPH GARDOQUI & SONS.

MARCH MEETING.

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, March 11, 1926, at 3 P.M., President MOORE in the chair.

The record of the February meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported gifts:

From Henry L. Rand, of Cambridge, about one hundred sermons preached by his great-great-grandfather, Rev. John Lathrop (Coll. N. J., 1763), minister of the Second Church in Boston 1767–1815, including two on the Boston Massacre, and two on the death of Washington; also his list of ships taken in 1776, 1777; his summary account of the Wars in America under George III, and his parchment diploma of S. T. D. from the University of King James at Edinburgh, 1785. Included in the gift are several sermons of his predecessor, Rev. Samuel Checkley, 1721 to 1738.

From the Estate of Artemas Ward, of New York, several manuscripts, 1733 to 1882, which, with the four large volumes recently given by the Estate and arranged by Benjamin Thomas Hill, of Worcester, and one more in preparation, will complete the General Artemas Ward collection, all coming to the Society through the courtesy of Charles Martyn, of New York.

From Mrs. Murray A. Potter, the journal of her father, Solomon Lincoln (H. U. 1857), kept from August 31, 1854, to December 4, 1862, while a student and a tutor; also a volume of newspaper cuttings, 1858–1863, and several other pieces.

From Miss Elizabeth Patten, of Hanover, N. H., a bill of sale of a negro man, about twenty years of age, called Backer, by Susanna Looby, of Newbury, Mass., for her husband, Captain Victorious Looby, who had gone to the West Indies, to Stephen Emery, 3d, for sixty pounds.

From Miss Emma L. Coleman, some photostat copies of Lettres de Naturalité, 1710, in the Archives of the District of Quebec, used by Miss Coleman in her new work on *New England Captives carried to Canada*, 1677 to 1760.

From John W. Farwell, a letter from William Flint, dated camp at Half Moon, July 14, 1756, about his regiment and

affairs there under General Abercrombie; also a diploma of membership of Capt. Isaiah Lewis in the Boston Marine Society, Feb. 5, 1811.

From Mrs. M. A. DeWolfe Howe, extracts from the journal of William B. Jackson, of the Brig *Harbinger*, from June to November, 1825; the journal of Mrs. Benjamin Daniel Greene (Margaret, daughter of Josiah Quincy, President of Harvard University), kept in 1838 and 1839, during her visit in Europe; the journal of Helen Ruthven Waterston, daughter of the late Rev. Robert C. Waterston, kept during her visit in England from April to September, 1856; and some verses written by Mrs. Thomas Boylston Adams.

From Grenville H. Norcross, some papers with the original contract for the statue of Charles Sumner in the Public Garden, Boston, by Thomas Ball.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported gifts:

From Walter Gilman Page, his painting of the Powder House in Somerville, made in 1892 just before the placing of the tablet at the right of the entrance to the house, on September first of that year, by the Sons of the Revolution. This led to the creation of Powder House Park by the City.

From Mrs. M. A. DeWolfe Howe, a daguerreotype of the Horse Shoe Fall at Niagara Falls, showing Prospect Tower and the bridge leading to it, built in 1833; also two medals given at the Olympic games, Athens, in 1896.

From Lee, Higginson & Company, photographs of the interior of their offices, Union Building, 44 State Street, January, 1926.

From Winthrop Wetherbee, the coronation dinner cup of King Edward VII. and Queen Alexandra, June, 1902.

From Mrs. Sarah S. Leighton of Hingham, an etching of King's Chapel, Boston, by E. F. Faber.

From Grenville H. Norcross, a pack of the Allied Armies playing cards.

Under the By-Laws, the President appointed the following committees to report at the Annual Meeting in April:

To nominate officers for the ensuing year: Chester N. Greenough, Frederick C. Shattuck, and Charles L. Nichols.

To examine the Library and Cabinet, Henry Lefavour, Clarence S. Brigham, and Lawrence S. Mayo.

To examine the Treasurer's Accounts, GEORGE G. WOLKINS, and FRANCIS R. HART.

The President announced the death of William Wallace Crapo, at New Bedford, on February 28, a Resident Member; of Sir Sidney Lee, at London, England, on March 3, and Rev. Henry Sweetser Burrage, at Kennebunkport, Maine, on March 9, both Corresponding Members; and spoke briefly about their connection with the Society.

Dr. PAUL REVERE FROTHINGHAM gave an appreciation of the late William Wallace Crapo, a Resident Member, and reserved his remarks for a memoir.

Professor PEARSON read a paper on

LINCOLN'S METHOD OF ENDING THE CIVIL WAR.

The object of this study is to interpret Lincoln's ideas as to the proper way of bringing about the end of the Civil War so that the result should be real Union and real Peace. The emphasis is not on what happened — the events are historical commonplace — but on Lincoln's methods of thought and work in a great crisis.

I begin with three quotations. The first, from Horace Greeley, was written in November, 1860, three days after the election of Lincoln. "Whenever," he wrote, "a considerable section of our Union shall deliberately resolve to go out, we shall resist all coercive measures designed to keep it in. We prefer never to live in a republic, whereof one section is pinned to the residue by bayonets." The second quotation, maintaining the same thesis from an opposite point of view, comes from a letter written a few weeks later by Alexander H. Stephens to Lincoln. "Conciliation and harmony, in my judgment, can never be established by force. . . . Force may perpetuate a Union. That depends upon the contingencies of war. But such a Union would not be the Union of the Constitution. It would be nothing short of a Consolidated Despotism."[1]

The source of the third quotation is strikingly different.

[1] *The War Between the States*, II, 270.

The place is Berlin; the occasion a meeting of the Budget Commission of the Prussian Parliament with the newly appointed minister-president, Count Otto von Bismarck. The date, September 30, 1862, memorable in German history, is also close to a milestone in our annals, for only eight days before Lincoln had issued the Proclamation of Emancipation. The problem of Central Europe for those days was whether or not some form of political unity could be achieved among the states, large and small, that we have become accustomed to think of under the term Germany. The spirit of Liberalism was strong; belief in constitutional government as the way of progress was widespread; and the Lower House of the Prussian Parliament had taken a firm stand against the design of the King to increase the army. A crisis of the first rank had been precipitated; the moment was a fateful one for the history of Europe — for the history of the world. "Not by speeches," said the new minister-president, "not by speeches and majority votes are the questions of the time decided — that was the great blunder of 1848 and 1849 — but by blood and iron."

These quotations present opposite views on an historical question of vital significance. According to the first two, national unity is not an end to be sought and achieved by force; according to the third, war is to be accepted as a necessary means to the desired end.

Of course, there are innumerable points of difference between Lincoln and Bismarck; but in one respect, the essential one here, they are strangely alike: they waged war relentlessly till the end they sought was accomplished. This they could do because they were upheld by a vision of nationality. To Bismarck, a united Germany was as sacred a cause to claim his devotion as a United States of America, in the true sense of the word, was to Lincoln. Alexander H. Stephens remarks, "The Union with him in sentiment rose to the sublimity of a religious mysticism." [2]

Assuming the use of force to be accepted as necessary, what is the human weakness that hinders us from achieving the full measure of what we set out to accomplish by it? It is stopping short of success. Not many of us are endowed with

[2] *Ibid.*, 448.

the intellectual ability to think a problem through to its logical conclusion; still fewer possess the force of will, the moral courage to carry the plan out to the bitter end. And in war the end is bitter indeed. Every day that the struggle is continued means a further sacrifice of life; and the triumph of victory may bring for the losers an ignominy of defeat which is only too likely to prove the seeding ground of future wars. Like Stephens, they foresee a consolidated despotism. Thus, when the losing side sees the end approaching, there is sure to be a party that desires to make overtures to the winners with a view to obtaining the best possible terms. A contest concluded by an armistice brings less humiliation than one terminated by a surrender. And as the peace party gains in strength, the knowledge of its activity spreads to the other side. In the ranks of the victors it tends to form divisions of opinion, separating men into those who, believing that enough has been accomplished, urge immediate peace and the healing of wounds, and those who insist upon complete surrender as the *sine qua non* of a lasting decision. This is the supremely critical moment in war for those in control on the winning side. If their wisdom and courage are equal to the trial, all will be well. But our judgment and our will are uncertain elements, as likely to be upset by the emotion of triumph as by the emotion of despair. Self-deception is a danger from which a man can be saved only by the clearest and steadiest thinking.

The election of November, 1864, established Abraham Lincoln in a position of power as a war ruler such as no ruler of the Nineteenth Century had known. In the next five months he made his last struggle to preserve the nation one and undivided.

The war weariness of the preceding summer had threatened his re-election; "the war is a failure," his opponents had declared. The longing for peace without victory now took a new form, but it was none the less a phase of public opinion to be reckoned with. In substance, it sought to stop the war of brothers by inducing them to unite against a common enemy. France, taking advantage of our internal troubles, had established herself in Mexico, where her armies upheld the throne of the Austrian Archduke Maximilian. The pro-

posal which the President had to meet was the arrangement of an armistice under the terms of which the blue and the gray, led perhaps by Jefferson Davis himself, would march side by side across Texas, invade Mexico, and drive the foreigner from the soil of the North American continent, incidentally taking possession of everything as far as the Isthmus of Panama. Immediately after Lincoln's re-election the scheme was strongly advocated by the New York *World,* one of the leading Democratic newspapers of the North. This plan was taken up by old Mr. Blair of Washington, Nestor of politicians, one of Lincoln's counsellors, who was permitted to make a trip to Richmond to lay the project before Davis, though Lincoln himself, in order not to be tied in later action, refused to be told what the plan was. The interview was in effect an attempt to lay diplomatic wires for future use; it made peace again an issue of the hour. Blair made a second trip to Richmond, as a result of which Davis appointed peace commissioners to treat with the Federal Government.

The meeting of these representatives of the dying Confederacy with the representatives of the North took place on the morning of February 3, 1865, on the steamer *River Queen,* off Fortress Monroe, and is known as the Hampton Roads Conference. Lincoln and Seward, Secretary of State, were present on behalf of the North; the men from the South were Stephens, the Vice-President of the Confederacy, Hunter, ex-Secretary of State, and then Senator, and Campbell, assistant Secretary of War. The last of these had been before the war a judge of the United States Supreme Court, where he was highly esteemed by his colleagues. Opposed to secession, he had used all his influence in those fatal weeks to prevent a break. Throughout the conflict he had hoped for an honorable peace that would make possible the return of the seceding states to the Union. In the expectation that he might be able to play a part in bringing this to pass, he had taken a minor post in the government, so that, when the time came, he might be available, and his influence count for something.[3] He had already in December, 1864, written a letter on the subject of peace to one of his former associates of the Su-

[3] *John A. Campbell,* by H. G. Connor, 160.

preme Court. He and his colleagues were in agreement as to the desperateness of the situation, but were hampered by the instructions of President Davis, who would consent to nothing less than the recognition of Independence.

I dwell on this incident of the Hampton Roads Conference because it enables us to get a glimpse of Lincoln in action, taking responsibility; it reveals his purposes and methods in relation to the great aim of his career as President, the preservation of the Union. Bear in mind that he had two main objectives: first, to win the war; second, to bring peace in such a way that real Union should ensue. As to the first of these, thanks to Grant and Sherman, the " bulldog grip " was tightening; neither they nor he had the slightest intention that it should relax. Lincoln was Commander-in-Chief of the armies and there was no check upon his use of the military power. Nevertheless, the situation was not altogether free from anxiety. It had not been possible for Grant's army to enclose Lee in Richmond and Petersburg; to the west and southwest the way was open for escape; two railroads were still in operation. If the Confederate commander, taking advantage of the improvement in the roads when spring came, should slip away and reach the mountains, he might be able to prolong the war indefinitely. But the cost of the war had reached the stupendous sum of $2,000,000 a day. It was therefore imperative to find some way of bringing the fighting to an end.

Lincoln's other objective involved many complications. With the conclusion of hostilities, the other coördinate functions of the Government, Congress and the Courts, would play the part designed for them by the Constitution; he would become a Constitutional president again. To the work of Reconstruction each of these departments of the Government must and would make their Constitutional contribution. Over and above this limitation on his action, there was another even more serious — the fury of hatred which war, then as always, had brought in its train. Lincoln's theory regarding the conflict and its causes was simple. Both sides were guilty of the conditions which led to strife; they were of the same race — " brothers in error " was one of his striking phrases — when the fight had been fought out they must live together

again as brothers.[4] But "hate propaganda" continues its work of destruction long after the last shot has been fired. How was Lincoln to convince the Commissioners from Richmond that this form of warfare would cease along with the other? How was he to make good any pledge that he might offer touching this point? From daily experience he knew well the temper of the implacable Stanton; he foresaw with entire clearness of vision the struggle ahead with the radical leaders in Congress. Their theory called for measures of retribution, including not only immediate uncompensated emancipation of slaves, but confiscation of other forms of property as well. Against the sweep of this force of wrath Lincoln opposed a policy of taking chances. He intended to appeal from lower to higher motives in men, at the very moment when the sway of the lower motives was strong and the sway of the higher motives was weak.

The first efforts of the Commissioners when they met Lincoln in the cabin of the *River Queen* were to obtain the President's consent to an armistice. Now an armistice assumes that the powers making it are independent and permanent. If the North entered into such an engagement with the South, it would, in effect, abandon its contention that they were rebels and accord them recognition as an independent sovereign power. With all the ingenuity they could command, the Confederates dressed up their case. They brought forth the project of the invasion of Mexico, and urged that the question of Union be postponed till after that expedition, undertaken jointly, had done something to dispel the hatreds of the long fraternal conflict. Lincoln admitted that he had the power to make a military convention for this purpose; it rested entirely with him; but he was not to be moved. He would not entertain for a moment a scheme that would degrade a war for Union and Freedom into a joint filibustering foray. Moreover, he would have no dealings with rebels, he declared, while they had arms in their hands. Hunter appealed to history. Charles I had entered into agreements

[4] This phrase, which Lincoln used in a speech to soldiers after the battle of Antietam and which greatly scandalized one of his hearers (see *Letters of Horace Howard Furness*, I. 114), was no form of words. Mrs. Lincoln's brother-in-law was a general in the Confederate army. He was killed at Chattanooga.

with those in arms against the rightful public authority; why should not Lincoln do the same? "I do not profess to be posted in History. On all such matters I turn you over to Seward. All I distinctly recollect about the case of Charles I is that he lost his head!" [5]

No other appeal was left to make save one for mercy. Terms of "unconditional surrender" were too cruel for conquerors to exact from their fellow-countrymen. What was to be gained by delivering this crushing blow? How would it make for re-union? This entreaty, Lincoln, famed for tenderness to those under sentence of death, lenient to troublesome and almost traitorous factionists in the North, met with no sign of yielding. First, they must lay down their arms.

Concerning what might follow such a submission the discussion took a wide range. With peace restored, Lincoln's powers would be limited. His statements as to what Congress and the courts might do were guarded; but he gave indications of what his own attitude and action as head of the Executive Department might be. Congress, only a day or two before, had passed a constitutional amendment providing for universal emancipation, which was to be submitted to the states for ratification. As a part of this program, he would be glad to see the sum of $400,000,000 paid by way of compensation to the owners of slaves. As to his own proclamation of Emancipation, he made it clear to the Southerners that it was an act forced upon him as a war measure. In his own view, it applied only to the 200,000 negroes already freed; he agreed with the Southern Commissioners that grave evils would result if the remainder of the three or more million slaves received immediate emancipation. The whole problem was one of the utmost perplexity and difficulty. But there could be no going backward. Both sides must agree that slavery was dead.

The conversation throughout had been courteous and even friendly. The men smoked, and a colored waiter from time to time brought "refreshments." At last the talk died down; they sat waiting, as it were, for the final word from the man whose word was indeed final, the war lord who was merciless, but whose thoughts were already fixed on the hoped for days

[5] Nicolay and Hay, X. 126.

when mercy and peace should be met together. "After pausing for some time," writes Stephens, "his head rather bent down, as if in deep reflection, while all were silent, he rose up and used these words, almost, if not quite, identical."

"Stephens, if I were in Georgia, and entertained the sentiments I do — though, I suppose, I should not be permitted to stay there long with them; but if I resided in Georgia, with my present sentiments, I'll tell you what I would do, if I were in your place: I would go home and get the Governor of the State to call the Legislature together, and get them to recall all the State troops from the war; elect Senators and Members to Congress, and ratify this Constitutional Amendment *prospectively*, so as to take effect — say in five years. Such a ratification would be valid in my opinion. I have looked into the subject, and think such a prospective ratification would be valid. Whatever may have been the views of your people before the war, they must be convinced now, that Slavery is doomed. It cannot last long in any event; and the best course, it seems to me, for your public men to pursue, would be to adopt such a policy as will avoid, as far as possible, the evils of immediate emancipation. This would be my course, if I were in your place." [6]

These suggestions delivered by Lincoln, as he towered above them from his great height, are remarkable in their inclusiveness and in their practical nature. They cover all the great questions at issue; judged on a scale of world values, the solutions they propose are those of high statesmanship. They include assumption by the North of its share of war guilt; the payment of an indemnity by the winners to the losers; ultimate extinction of slavery; the prompt return of the seceding states into the family of the United States, and participation in the work of reconstruction. In appealing to Stephens Lincoln showed his customary adroitness in dealing with men. He was merely advising a strong states' rights man to secede a second time.

Only one element do the President's proposals ignore — the fierce passions of the extremists on both sides. On account of these passions, the conference came to naught. Jefferson Davis would listen to nothing short of recognition of inde-

[6] *The War Between the States*, II, 614.

pendence, and, against the testimony of facts and the pleading of counsellors, strove to whip his followers into a last desperate fury of resistance. As for Lincoln, he found his plan of compensation opposed, instantly and unanimously, by his Cabinet; the advocates of the counter-policy of immediate emancipation were growing in strength.

In the next few weeks he must have meditated much concerning what he could do or say to check the hatred on both sides that he clearly saw would impede if not imperil the work of peaceful reconstruction. An opportunity for such an attempt was before him in the inaugural address which he was to give in a few weeks on the 4th of March. As it grew in his mind, it was to be a plea to both sides to forgive and forget. As he towered physically above the men in the saloon of the *River Queen,* so in the sentences that he wrote for his inauguration he towered spiritually above the passions of the moment. He accepted for the North its share of the burden of guilt for the conditions that produced the war. With a yearning tenderness, purified of all human folly and weakness, he pleaded that malice should be entertained toward none, that there should be charity for all. But how many of those immersed in the life and death struggle had ears to hear, above the tumult of their passions, the still music drawn from his uplifted spirit?

Lincoln's steadfast intention that the Confederates must lay down their arms had its fruition at Appomattox. The day of surrender has given America two heroes, Grant and Lee; their names cannot be separated in our memory and our gratitude. The glorious magnanimity of their deeds and their bearing in those memorable hours has overshadowed, however, one episode in Lincoln's life before that event — the day when he entered the Capital of the Confederacy. The Federal troops entered Richmond on Monday morning, April 3. On Tuesday morning, Lincoln, who had been at Grant's headquarters at City Point, started up the river to visit the fallen city. What his notion was in going no one can say; certainly he did not undertake the journey in the spirit of a conqueror. At one point the steamer met obstructions in the stream, and so he entered a barge and was rowed the remainder of the distance. When he landed he found himself

in a city devastated by the fire which the Confederates had set before their departure. Order had not yet been wholly restored by the Federal troops and there was no escort to meet the party. Drunken officers and privates in gray were upon the streets; Lincoln's companions tried to persuade him to return to the boat. He would not listen to them, and the little knot of men, consisting of the President, Admiral Porter, three officers, and ten sailors armed with carbines, proceeded, under the guidance of a contraband, to walk the distance of a mile and a half to the centre of the city where the Federal general, Weitzel, had established his headquarters in the residence recently occupied by Jefferson Davis. For those in charge of the President's safety it was a long and anxious journey; but in the home of the Confederacy he was not without friends. The news of his arrival spread among the blacks, and the little company was surrounded by a throng of excited and demonstrative freedmen that increased every moment. It was a strange procession, picturesque, ludicrous perhaps, but inexpressibly moving. When at City Point Lincoln had ridden among the negro troops in Grant's army they had crowded about him, kissing his hands and his garments; today the masters had fled in terror from the Confederate Capital; their homes were in ruins; and Father Abraham himself, a present deliverer, walked among those whom he had set free from the house of bondage. History has no stranger picture.

Let me turn now to the other notable figure in the day's proceedings, Judge Campbell. His judgment and his firmness of purpose had not been moved by the action of Davis after the Hampton Roads Conference. Although Stephens had left Richmond in disgust, going to his home in Georgia, the Judge had remained at his post, determined to work for the cause of peace and save what was possible from the wreck. His vision, like Lincoln's, was fixed on the future. He had even carried out Lincoln's suggestion that an appeal be made to the governors of the Southern states to withdraw their troops from the Confederate army. He had obtained reports revealing the conditions of affairs in the Treasury and War Departments, and attempted to have a resolution passed by the Confederate Congress declaring that further prosecution

of the war was impossible and requesting Davis to ask for an armistice. When he saw that the crash was imminent, he made up his mind to remain in the Capital, and submit himself at once to the Federal authorities, in the hope thereby of making swifter and easier the transition from war to peace. On Monday, accordingly, he presented himself to General Weitzel, and asked that a message be sent to Lincoln requesting an interview. The President may not have received the message; if not, it was thanks to his instinct for being at the centre of things in an emergency, that within twenty-four hours, on Tuesday afternoon, the two men were again face to face. Campbell had a plan which, now that Davis had left Virginia, was possible of execution. His proposal was that Lincoln summon the public men of the state to consult together as to the restoration of peace, civil order, and the renewal of her relations as a member of the Union. It was Lincoln's suggestion made at Hampton Roads in another form, and he was evidently struck with its pertinency, though, as he remarked, the trouble was in applying it. Both Lincoln and Campbell had had the same discouraging experience in finding men who were willing to deal with the subject of peace. The Judge named several prominent Virginians, including Lee, and Lincoln, replying that he "wanted to have another talk," announced that he would remain in Richmond, and see Judge Campbell on the following morning.[7]

What had impressed Lincoln in the proposal was the opportunity it offered to withdraw the Virginia troops from the Confederate army. Grant was pursuing Lee among the blossoming orchards of Virginia toward the mountains; could the redoubtable and resourceful Confederate commander actually be captured? Was it not beyond Grant's powers to achieve such an astonishing feat? If means in Lincoln's power could be used to prevent the dreaded guerilla warfare that might follow the period of organized rebellion, was it not his duty to employ them? So at the interview on Wednesday morning he presented Campbell with a paper embodying substantially his terms as set forth at Hampton Roads. A further part of his plan, not yet determined upon, was to call together the Virginia Legislature — "the very Legislature which had been

[7] See *Life of Campbell*, 176.

sitting up yonder," pointing to the Capitol — to vote the restoration of the State to the Union. If they would call back their regiments, confiscation of property would be remitted to Virginians. This went beyond Campbell's proposal, but was naturally acceptable to him. He assured the President that the Governor of North Carolina, if appealed to, would assemble his Legislature for a similar purpose. The two parted for the last time, each hopeful for the future because he had found a man willing to take the responsibility of working for peace.

But within four days Grant's advance, led by the impetuous Sheridan, got ahead of Lee and his path was blocked; with the formal surrender at Appomattox the resistance of the most formidable body of Confederates ceased over night and forever. The assistance of the Virginia Legislature was no longer needed for this purpose and the radicals about the President made vigorous opposition to its assembling with any other end in view. For Stanton and his like, triumph only fanned the flame of hatred. Rebel organizations were to be treated as "null and void"; the Southern leaders, the only men whose words carried weight with the people and who, Lincoln believed, were ready to turn themselves into "Good Union men" [8] were to be excluded from any participation in the task of the restoration. The work of Booth's bullet scattered the embers far and wide, and in the conflagration of fury which ushered in the years of Reconstruction, Lincoln's beginnings toward peace were annihilated.

Except for a few here and there whose unclouded vision gave them a revelation similar to Lincoln's — Judge Campbell in the South, our own Governor Andrew here in the North — there were none at first to state and defend his work in its full scope. The praise of the radicals could not be sincere, for Lincoln, if alive, would, as their antagonist, have had them at a grave disadvantage. The South could not then recognize in their conqueror the man with charity for all, with malice toward none; yet, strange to say, the haters and their deeds are forgotten; it is Lincoln, the ruler who employed bayonets to pin one portion of the country to the other, who did not shrink from recourse to blood and

[8] *Diary of Gideon Welles*, II. 280.

iron — it is Lincoln who remains. Why is it? First, because his vision of our land, rich and wide, dwelt in by men of one tongue, with common memories and traditions, having a government of, by, and for the people, has met and will meet the needs of succeeding generations, as it met the needs of his own. Second, because he felt the bond of brotherhood with all dwellers in this land — those who had gone before, those of his own time, and those of generations yet to come. With him, the nation was indeed a sentiment invested with the sublimity of a religious mysticism. Thus it is that we dwell not under a consolidated despotism, but in a true and lasting Union.

Gen. SCHAFF then said:

I am sorry Professor Pearson did not go a bit further in elucidation of Lincoln's plan for ending the war, and give us what was said and what was agreed on for putting those plans in operation when he met Campbell, Ex-Assistant Confederate Secretary of War, in Richmond a few days after it fell; for their interviews throw much light on what was in Lincoln's mind.

The circumstances were these: the last of the Confederate troops left Richmond, Monday morning, April 3, about the breaking of dawn, after setting on fire several large warehouses. By nine o'clock these buildings were in a raging blaze, the streets filled with wild, drunken and predatory mobs of whites and blacks, and the Federal troops were marching in under General Weitzel, who at once made his headquarters in the house that had been occupied by Mr. Davis, and appointed General Shepley to immediate command of the city. Campbell went to see Shepley, who told him Lincoln was at City Point; later word was telegraphed Lincoln that Campbell would like to see him.

Lincoln at once set out for Richmond and on his arrival went to Weitzel's headquarters, who sent a staff officer to Campbell and conducted him to the Davis House. There and in the presence of Weitzel he talked over at length the state of affairs with Lincoln and what ought to be done. The upshot of this interchange of views was that the Legisla-

ture of Virginia might be reassembled and Lincoln telling Campbell that he would remain in Richmond that night for he wanted to see him in the morning and talk with him further on the matter. The next morning Campbell met him in the cabin of the gunboat *Malvern,* whereupon Lincoln read to him a statement bearing broadly on the steps which were to be taken, explaining the terms as he read. These terms were general in their nature and entirely conditional, providing a wide leeway for future action.

Mr. Lincoln, on returning to City Point, wrote Grant that afternoon, telling him of his interview with Campbell, saying, "I addressed a private letter to General Weitzel with permission for Judge Campbell to see it, telling him (General W.) that if they, the members of the Legislature, should attempt to meet, he was to permit and protect them, unless they attempted some hostile move, and then left for Washington." Campbell tried to reassemble the Legislature, with results as set forth in a dispatch of Dana, Assistant Secretary of War; see Volume XLVI, page 619, War Records.

On Lincoln's arrival in Washington, he told members of the Cabinet what he had agreed on with Campbell. Stanton immediately and vehemently disapproved of what he had done. Lincoln saw that his plans were not approved of by the majority of his Cabinet and especially by Stanton and Speed. Anxious, however, to know how Campbell was coming on, toward carrying out his plans, he sent a dispatch to Weitzel at nine in the forenoon of April 12th: "Is there any sign of the rebel legislature coming together on the understanding of my letter to you? If there is any such sign inform me what it is. If there is no such sign you may withdraw the offer. A. LINCOLN." At two in the afternoon of the following day he had a long interview with Stanton and Speed over his plans and understandings with Campbell. They utterly disapproved what had been done. Later in the afternoon, Lincoln went to Stanton's office, renewed the conversation and finally sat down at Stanton's desk and wrote a dispatch for Weitzel, telling him to countermand the order authorizing the Legislature to meet, and submitted it to Stanton, saying, "There, I think that will suit you." Stanton said, "it did not go quite far enough." Lincoln made some

additions. This dispatch can be seen in Volume XLVI, page 725, of the War Records and was so out of harmony with what he had said to Campbell and Weitzel that both have left strong remonstrances.

Stanton at the last meeting of the Cabinet, Friday, April 14th, read a scheme he had formulated during Lincoln's absence for the reconstruction of the states of the South. Mr. Lincoln said after Stanton had read his scheme that he hoped all members would give it careful consideration for that was the foremost of questions before them. That night he was killed.

Welles, in his diary, says that he was having an interview with Stanton on Sunday afternoon following the Friday of Lincoln's death, when Sumner followed by Gooch and Dawes and others came in evidently by appointment. Stanton picked up his scheme and began to read it, when Sumner interrupted him and wanted to know what provisions it contained providing for the colored men to vote. Just then Welles was sent for and had to leave.

That same night a meeting of the political leaders was held at one of the hotels relative to the reconstruction of the Cabinet. Sumner was to be Secretary of State; Butler, Secretary of War, etc. All this can be found in a letter published by the *Boston Advertiser* of that period.

Such were the final attending facts of Lincoln's plan of ending the war. From my standpoint, of all the events connected with these plans not one is so full in illumination as the Hampton Roads Conference. Much fog hangs over that famous meeting, but there was found among Fessenden's papers after his death a notice of a Cabinet meeting held the day after Lincoln returned from the Conference. Fessenden wrote on the back of it that Lincoln recommended that four hundred millions be appropriated and paid the South for its slaves. Two hundred millions on the first of April, 1865, and two hundred millions on the first of July, 1865, provided they had abolished slavery and laid down their arms.

This was done three days after Lincoln had had his talk with the Confederate Commissioners and shows conclusively what was in his mind. From their light springs a great arch spanning the magnanimity of his nature, arching over it like

a rainbow that has caught the eye and the heart of the world's admiration.

Dr. ALLEN read a paper on "Massachusetts Privateers of the Revolution," being the introduction to a volume on that subject to be issued by the Society.

Mr. STOREY, with brief remarks, presented to the Society, in behalf of Miss Jane A. Riggs, of Washington, D. C., a letter written by Justice Joseph Story, dated at Salem, August 17, 1827, and an autobiographical sketch of Judge Story, both written to Mr. Agg, an intimate friend of Daniel Webster.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM communicated in behalf of Mr. FORD in his absence, a note on

THE BOSTON GAZETTE OF March 12, 1770.

A study of a file of a colonial newspaper is interesting in itself, but a comparative study of examples of what are apparently identical issues may develop remarkable differences, difficult to explain. An instance of this kind has come to my attention.

While I was seeking a good copy of the issue of the *Boston Gazette*, No. 779, for March 12, 1770, describing the so-called "Boston Massacre" for reproduction, the fact, not without interest to bibliographers, that two editions were printed on the same day was discovered by Mr. Warren G. Wheeler, assistant librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Copies of that issue in the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester proved the existence of two editions beyond question.

The Historical Society's copy consists of four pages and a supplement of two pages. The supplement is composed entirely of advertisements, even the first item — "A List of the Names of those who audaciously continue to counteract the united sentiments of the Body of Merchants thro'out North America; by importing British Goods contrary to the Agreement" — having been carried in the columns since January 1, 1770. We may assume that pressure of advertisements, which must have been known days before the date of a weekly issue, was not the reason for making a second

edition on the day, March 12. In the Society's copy the first three pages are exactly similar to the first three pages of the Antiquarian copy, showing the same breaks and faults in the mourning rules and even the same defective inking of the forms. The fourth page opens with a communication "To the New-England Man," signed "Sam. Dashwood," and the advertisements completing the first and filling the second column are alike in the two issues. The third column of the Historical Society copy opens with an advertisement of the sale by public vendue of the Sloop *Sally*, and continues with two advertisements — the sale of Kneeland's dwelling-house and land and Hobart's bell-foundry — which are also in the Antiquarian copy, but is completed with five advertisements that do not appear in the Antiquarian copy. The printer's notice in the colophon is the same, showing in both examples the worn 7 in the year 1770.

On the fourth page of the Antiquarian copy the first column opens with an advertisement of Edes & Gill's North-American Almanack, of the exact length of the communication "To the New-England Man" in the Historical Society's copy, and the third column begins with the advertisement of Kneeland's house and Hobart's bell-foundry and is completed by five advertisements not in the Historical Society's issue.

But all the distinctive matter in the Antiquarian copy appears in the supplement with the Historical Society's copy, forming, however, only a part — a little over one-fourth — of the advertisements in the extra sheet. Which was the first edition, that with or that without the supplement? The "massacre" had occurred on March 5, just a week before the date of the newspaper, and one would look for an "extra" covering an incident so unusual in the town life of Boston, and destined to figure so largely in the patriotic policy of the time. That was not the practice, however, of Boston journalism in 1770, though the modern needs of a community are today highly fed on extras and elaborate headlines. It is true an auction catalogue of the past has noted an "account" in two pages of the massacre, but long search failed to discover a copy, and the cataloguer was so careless as to omit date and a description.

SUPPLEMENT to the *Boston-Gazette*, &c. of *March* 12, 1770.

A LIST of the Names of *those* who AUDACIOUSLY continue to counteract the UNITED SENTIMENTS of the BODY of Merchants throughout NORTH AMERICA; by importing BRITISH Goods contrary to the Agreement.

John Bernard,
(In King-Street, almoſt oppoſite Vernon's Head.

James McMaſters,
(On Treat's Wharf.

Patrick McMaſters,
(Oppoſite the Sign of the Lamb.

John Mein,
(Oppoſite the White-Horſe, and in King-Street.

Nathaniel Rogers,
(Oppoſite Mr. Henderſon Inches Store lower End King-Street.

William Jackſon,
At the Brazen-Head, Cornhill, near the Town-Houſe.

Theophilus Lillie,
(Near Mr. Pemberton's Meeting-Houſe, North-End.

John Taylor,
(Nearly oppoſite the Heart and Crown in Cornhill.

Anne & Elizabeth Cummings,
(Oppoſite the Old Brick Meeting Houſe, all of Boſton.

Iſrael Williams, Eſq; & Son,
(Traders in the Town of Hatfield.

And, *Henry Barnes,*
(Trader in the Town of Marlboro'.

IT muſt evidently appear either by Importing BRITISH Goods contrary to the Agreement, or by breaking their Contract with the Merchants, that they have preferred their own little private Advantage to the Welfare of America: It is therefore highly proper that the Public ſhould know who they are, that have at this critical Time, ſo-diddly detached themſelves from the public Intereſt; and as they will be deemed Enemies to their Country, by all who are well-wiſhers to it; ſo thoſe who afford them their Countenance or give them their Cuſtom, muſt expect to be conſidered in the ſame diſagreeable Light.

Imported in the laſt Ship from *London* and to be ſold

By Suſanna Renkin,

In Fore Street, near the Draw-Bridge, *BOSTON*,

Large Marrowfats, early Charleton, early Hotſpur, Golden Hotſpur, blue Marrowfats and crooked Peas; large Windſor, early Hotſpur, and early Liſbon Beans; early yellow, ſcarlet and orange Carrots; early Dutch, early Yorkſhire, early Batterſea early Sugar Loaf, red and large Winter Cabbage; early and late Colly-flower; green and yellow Savoy; Sallery; green and white Endive; Salmon and Scarlet London Radiſh; beſt curl'd Pepper-Graſs; Summer and Winter Spinnage; curl'd and Hamboo Parſley; Cabbage; white Goſs and Imperial Lettuce; early and late Cucumber, long Turkey ditto; early and late Turnips; Summer and Winter Savory; Hyſſop; Thyme; Sweet Marjoram and Baum; Lavender and Rolemary; Hemp, Canary and Rape Seed; Red and white Clover; Red Top and Herds Graſs Seed.——Alſo all ſorts of Engliſh Goods, imported before the Non-importation Agreement took Place. Likewiſe all ſorts of China Ware, cheap for Caſh.

BOSTON, March 1, 1770.

The Copartnerſhip of *Harris* and *Aves* will be diſſolved the 31ſt of this Inſtant. They therefore requeſt all Perſons who have Accounts open with them, to bring them in order to Settlement. And thoſe who have been long indebted, are deſired to make ſpeedy Payment, as they would avoid being ſued.

TO BE SOLD,

A SLOOP, about 75 or 80 Tons Burthen, almoſt new and well-found. For further Particulars, enquire of ſaid *Harris* and *Aves*, or *John Prince*, of Marblehead.

Barbados Rum, Malaga Wine, Lemmons, Raiſins and choice Dumb Fiſh, to be Sold by ſaid *Harris* and *Aves*.

The beſt of NAIL RODS,
TO BE SOLD BY
William Bant,
At his Shop in Cornhill, BOSTON.

CASH
GIVEN for the beſt POT-ASH and PEARL ASH, by HENRY LLOYD, at Warehouſe, No. 5, on the Long-Wharff.

JUST PUBLISHED,
And Sold by EDES & GILL in Queen-Street; and, T. & J. FLEET in Cornhill,
[*Price 9d. ſingle, and at half a Piſtareen per Dozen.*]

EDES & GILL's
North-American ALMANACK,
AND
Maſſachuſetts REGISTER,
For the Year 1770.

Being the Second after BISSEXTILE or LEAP-YEAR; Calculated for the Meridian of BOSTON, Latt. 42 Deg. 25 Min. North.

CONTAINING,

A Proſpective View of the Town of Boſton the Capital of New-England; and of the Landing of ——— Troops in the Year 1768, in Conſequence of Letters from Gov. Bernard, the Commiſſioners, &c. to the Britiſh Miniſtry—Eclipſes—Extract from the Life of Publius Clodius Britano Americanus, continued—— A Liſt of the Importers and Reſolves of the Merchants &c. of Boſton—A Table in Sterling, Halifax, Maſſachuſetts L. M. & O. T. Virginia, Pennſylvania, and New-York Currencies—Courts in Maſſachuſetts-Bay, New Hampſhire, Connecticut and Rhode-Iſland—— Judgment of the Weather, Suns and Moon's Riſing and Setting, Time of High Water, Feaſts and Faſts of the Church of England, &c.—A Liſt of the Hon. His Majeſty's Council, and the Honorable Houſe of Repreſentatives——Judges of the Superior and Inferior Courts, Judges of Probate, Regiſters of Deeds, High Sheriffs and their Deputies—Officers of the Admiralty and Cuſtom Houſe—Notaries Public—Poſt-Office—Juſtices of the Peace thro'out the Province, and for each County—Barriſters at Law—Preſident, Overſeers, &c. of Harvard College——Miniſters, Churches and Religious Aſſemblies thro' the Province—Officers of the 14th & 29th Regiments in Boſton—Officers of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, with the Names of the Captains of ſaid Company, from its Incorporation—Officers of the Troop of Horſe Guards—Officers of the Boſton Regiment—Field Officers of the ſeveral Regiments through the Province—Officers of Caſtle William, and the Batteries in Boſton—Coroners —Officers of the Town of Boſton—Fire-Engine-Men—Liſt of Commiſſioners and other Officers of the Revenue, WITH THEIR SALARIES!——Liberty Song—Parody Parodiz'd—A New Song, to the Tune of the Britiſh Grenadier, by a SON OF LIBERTY.—Public Roads, with the beſt Stages or Houſes to put up at—Quaker Yearly Meetings in New-England—Difference of the Time of High Water at ſeveral Places on the Continent, &c.

THESE are to deſire the Owners of the undermentioned Goods, imported in the Yarmouth, Seth Paddock, Maſter, from London, to get a Permit from the Cuſtom-Houſe to land the ſame, and leave it with the Waiters on board ſaid Schooner, or they will be left with Mr. Jackſon to Houſe; as ſaid Schooner will ſail for Nantucket in a few Days.

N. B. Any Gentlemen who have Goods to ſhip for Nantucket, ſaid Paddock would be glad to ſerve; and may be ſeen every Day on Board, or at 'Change. Said Schooner laying at the Lower Crane, Long-Wharff.

MG H 1 a Caſk.
——— 2 a ditto.
H B 1 a Box.
—— 2 a ditto.
S R 1 a Caſk.

Seth Paddock.

All Perſons indebted for their TAXES to Mr. SAMUEL ADAMS, late a Collector in this Town, are hereby notified, that the Subſcriber is impowered by an Act of the General Aſſembly to demand and receive ſaid Taxes, and they are deſired forthwith to pay the ſame. ROBERT PIERPONT.

To be ſold at *private Sale*, at the late Manſion of the Rev. Mr. Samuel Checkley, deceas'd, in South Street, near the New-South Meeting-Houſe in Boſton——A Variety Houſhold Furniture, conſiſting of a Number of very good Feather Beds, Table Linen, &c. Attendance will be given from Tueſday the 13th to Friday the 16th Inſtant, incluſive.

ALL Perſons having Demands on the Eſtate of ſaid Deceaſed, are deſired to bring in their Accounts to Richard Boynton, Eſq; Adminiſtrator, in Order for Payment. Boſton, March 3, 1770.

TO BE LETT,

A Handſome Houſe, pleaſantly ſituated at New-Boſton, with every Convenience for a genteel Family. Enquire of the Printers.

TO BE SOLD BY

George Spriggs,

Gardener to JOHN HANCOCK, *Esq;*

A Large Assortment of English Fruit Trees grafted and inoculated of the best and richest Kind of Cherry Trees, Pear Trees, Plumb Trees, Peach Trees, Apricots, Nectarines, Quinces, Lime Trees, Apple Trees grafted and ungrafted, and sundry Mulberry Trees which will be fit to transplant the next Year, and Medleys. Likewise several sorts of flowering Shrubs, Bulbus Roots and Bulbes, Asparagus Roots of one and two Years Growth, which will be sold at a reasonable Price, and sundry other Sorts not mentioned here.

Imported in Capt. Paddock from London, and to be sold

By Abigail Davidson,

About the Middle of Seven-Star Lane, BOSTON,

EARLY Golden Horspur, early Charlton, Dwarf Marrowfat, and dwarf Sugar, with some other Sorts of Peafe; broad Winfor, broad white Pole, dwarf yellow and dwarf fpeckled Beans, with a general Assortment of Garden Seeds.—Alfo, a large Collection of the beft Sorts of young grafted and inoculated Englifh Fruit Trees, as, Cherries, Pears, Peaches, Plumbs, Apricots, Nectarines, Apples, Quinces, Lime Trees, Englifh Elm Trees, &c. Grape Vines of all Sorts, red and white Dutch Currant Buffhes, Englifh Goofberry Buffhes of all Sorts, Afparagus Plants of the large early Sorts, Box for Edgings of Walks. Alfo all Sorts of Plants in their Seafon, as Cabbage and Colliflower, Savoy, Cellery, Endive, Marjoram, Thyme, Savory, Baum, Rue, Sives, Sage, Mint, Sorrel. Alfo, Garlick and Horfe Radifh, all Sorts of dried Sweet Herbs, all at the very lowefl Prices, by Wholefale or Retail, for Cafh.

Mathematical Inftruments.

William Williams

Mathematical Inftrument Maker,

Has to fell at his Shop in King-Street, two Doors Eaft of the Sign of Admiral Vernon, near the Head of the Long-Wharf, BOSTON.

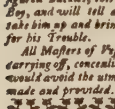
A Large Aflortment of Hadley's and Davis's Quadrants, hanging and ftanding Compaffes, in Brafs and Wood; Gunging and Surveying Inftruments, Cafes of Inftruments, large and fmall Perfpective Glaffes, in Ivory, Wood and Fifh-fkin, plotting Scales and Protractors, Gunter Scales and Dividers, Surveyors Chains, Artificiale Magnets with Cafes, Sand Glaffes from a Hours to 4 Minute, Inftruments of a new Conftruction to meafure Boards, Quarter, Waggoners, Atkinfon's Epitome, Willfon's ditto, Patton's Navigation, Seamans Aflifants, Callenders, Mariners Compaffes rectified, Young Man's Companion, Journal Books, Ink-Powder, Quills & Paper, an Aflortment of Brafs Pocket Compaffes with & without Cards, Box Rules, Slates and Pencils, Penknives, Jack knives, &c.

All Sorts of Mathematical Inftruments are made and repaired by the above William Williams. Thofe who will favour him with their Cuftom, may depend upon being well ufed, and have their Work done with Fidelity and Difpatch.

RAN-AWAY *from his Maflter* John Langdon, *the* 20*th of this Inflant February, an* Indented Servant Lad *of* 14 *Years of Age, named* EBENEZER BLANCHER. *He had on when he went away, a Frock and Trowfers, over a dark ftriped Homefpun Jacket and Breeches, a ftriped cotton and linnen Shirt, Shoes almofl worn out, a Pair Brafs figured Buckles, this Country make. He is a fmart ready Boy, and will tell a good plaufible Story. Whoever will take him up and bring him to his Maflter, fhall be rewarded for his Trouble.*

All Maflters of Veffels and others, are warned againfl carrying off, concealing or entertaining the faid Boy, as they would avoid the utmofl Penalty of the Law, in that cafe made and provided.

For *LONDON*,



The Ship SUSANNA, HENRY JOHNSON, Maflter; Laying at Long-Wharff, (a prime Sailer, with good Accommodations for Paffengers) has great Part of her Cargo engaged, and will depart with all convenient Speed.—For Freight or Paffage, apply to the Maflter, or to FRANCIS GREEN, King-Street.

INSURANCE-OFFICE.

The Subfcriber begs Leave to inform all Gentlemen concern'd in Trade, that the INSURANCE-OFFICE is Remov'd from Fifh-Street to a commodious Place near the Draw-Bridge, where conftant Attendance is given, by

Gentlemen your obedient humble Servant,
NATHANIEL BARBER.

Superfine Sugars by the Hogfhead.

JAMAICA SUGARS of the very firfl Quality, perhaps fuperior to any ever brought to this Market, and very little inferior to Loaf Sugar, to be fold by

William Dennie,

At his Store in King-Street, BOSTON.

ALL Perfons that have any Demands on the Eflate of *Captain Alexander Inglifh, late of Boflon, Mariner, deceas'd, are defired to bring in their Accounts to* Mary Inglifh, *Adminiflratrix to faid Eflate. And all that are indebted to faid Eflate, are defired to make fpeedy Payment.*

TO BE LET,

A *Dwelling-Houfe, with a convenient Malt-Houfe adjoining, in White-Bread Alley, at the North Part of the Town. Enquire of the Printers.*

ALL Perfons indebted to the Eflate of William Summers, *late of Boflon, Rigger, deceas'd, are defired to fettle and pay the fame to* Elizabeth Summers, *fole Executrix to the laft Will of the Deceafed. And thofe to whom faid Eflate is indebted, are defired to bring in their Accounts to faid Executrix, in order to a fpeedy Settlement.*

Choice Capers and Anchovys, by

the Keg or fingle Pound,

TO BE SOLD BY

Archibald Cunningham,

At his Shop near the Draw-Bridge, Fore-ftreet, Boflon.

ALSO,

New Raifins and Turkey Figgs by the Cask.

CURRANTS, Citron, Mace, Cloves, Cinnamon, Rice, Oatmeal, Piemento per Hundred weight, Pepper, Almonds, Salt-Petre, Indigo, Starch, Pipes, Lyn Sheets, Wine Glaffes by the Groce, Allum, Ginger, Cheefe per Cafk, Redwood and Logwood per 100, Kippen's Snuff per Dozen, Kippen's Tobacco per Dozen, or lefs Quantity, Chocolate, Loaf and brown Sugar, Crown Soap, Muflard per pound or in Bottles, long handled Hearth Brufhes, Florence Oyl per Cheft or fingle Flafk. With a good Aflortment of Glafs, Stone and Cream-colour'd Ware, Delph Bowls from half a Pint to three Quarts, by the Dozen or fingle.

N. B. A Quantity of NUTMEGS to be fold cheap at faid Shop.

Beft Sperma Ceti Candles,

Warranted Pure,

MADE AND SOLD by JOHN LANGDON in *Fleet-Street*, above HANCOCK's *Wharf*, near the *Old North Meeting Houfe*. He alfo fells the *beft Refin'd Sperma Ceti Oil* by the Barrel. Beft *Tallow Candles* mould and dipp'd, and Bayberry Wax Candles. ALL *as low as they can be had at any Place in Town.*

CHOICE CHOCOLATE made and Sold by *John Coldfmith*, at the Corner Shop leading down *John Hancock*, Efq'rs; Wharff, by the large or fmall Quantities.—Alfo all Sorts of Groceries.

The Chocolate will be warranted good, and fold as the cheapeft Rates.—Cafh given for Cocoa.

Cocoa manufactured for Gentlemen in the beft Manner.

ALSO, Choice COCOA and Cocoa Nut Shells.

CASH

TO be given for good PEARL and POT-ASH, for damaged Pot-Afh, and for Black Salts, by

GEORGE ERVING,

At his Store in King-Street.

Where is to be Sold very cheap for Cafh—The beft Ruffia and Ravens Duck, juft imported.—Alfo, Poland and Common Starch, which has been imported upwards of Sixteen Months.

Boflon, December 16, 1769.

Made and Sold by *Ifaac White*,

at the North-End, oppofite the Salutation.—Beft Tallow Candles, Mould and Dip'd and Bayberry-wax Candles, all as low as they can be had at any Place in Town.

N. B. Tallow by the Barrel.

TO BE SOLD,

A few Casks of Claret, a few fmall

Casks of French Brandy, and fome beft Caflile Soap in Boxes. Enquire of JOHN HOMER, at Store No. 2, on the Long-Wharff.

Boflon. Printed by EDES & GILL, *in Queen-Street.* 1770.

To the NEW-ENGLAND MAN.

I Believe I have said enough to satisfy every rational and candid man of any innocence of the charge he's against me by a Scribbler in the Chronicle who *assumes* the name of a New-England-Man.—But it seems there is a set of people that are determined never to be satisfied I *have* given you Mr. New England-Man my *final* answer to your impertinent questions. You are pleased to say that the ten hogsheads which *you call'd* white glass, (although *you knew* there was not more than half a cask of *glass*, in *all* the ten hogsheads) were never put into the publick Store but carried to my house; and that Mr. Gardner declared he had no goods nor expected any from London: It is well known that Mr. Gardner's letters desiring me to take the care of those goods were read at the meeting of the Merchants in the representatives Chamber in November last before the goods arrived; and that when they did arrive they were put into the publick Store, where they may be seen at any time whenever *you* you please to call—my reasons for putting them into the publick Store, was, because as I was one of the Committee of Inspection, I had reason to think the Tory party would not scruple to say (had I received them) that they were my property; and therefore I was determined I would have nothing to do with them but immediately to put them into the publick Store —And now Sir, if you'll please to subscribe your name to your next, or call on me, I will let you see the invoices of the hampers you mention bot's in London, July 1768 your acquaintance or those of any of the cabal either will give me the best concern, for the public in general know you to be a lying, impudent scoundrel. It is well known that I have faithfully discharged my duty as one of the committee of inspection, and you may be assured I always will while I have the honor to be one, and if necessary will seal it with my blood. You say that Earthen ware and glass are articles I generally deal in, and that I have a general advertisement now will *condescend* further as to let you know how I came by them. I bought of *Mollers.* J. and D. Waldo laid by as much Earthen ware and glass as came to two hundred pounds lawful money, and likewise some of Mr Henderson Inches, which was all imported in the John Galley, Capt. Blake, in November 1768.

As your last question *unpacks* the whole Committee; therefore I leave it them to answer, if they think it worth their while. I now leave you and the rest of the Cabal to your own guilty consciences to accuse you, and am determined never to answer any more of your impertinent questions.

N. B. I now offer a Reward of ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS to any Person or Persons, that can by any Means prove from the Cockets, Custom-House or any other Manner, that I have imported one Shilling worth of Goods for Sale, or bought one Shilling worth of any one of the Importers contrary to the Agreement of the Merchants, since my Arrival from London in December 1768. SAM. DASHWOOD.

To be SOLD. or LETT, on reasonable Terms,

A Large genteel Dwelling House, accommodated with a Wood and Chaise-House. a good Well of Water, which for Watering is equal to Rain Water, and about eleven Acres of Land, with a young Orchard thereon; situated in Dorchester, about 5 Miles from Boston Town House, and not far from the great Road leading to Plymouth, and about a Mile from the Meeting-House. For further Particulars, inquire of Samuel Melliss, living on said Premises. Also another Dwelling House pleasantly situated in Dorchester aforesaid, about a Quarter of a Mile from the Meeting-House and near Dorchester Wharff, accommodated with about a Quarter of an Acre of Land, a good Garden Spot, and several pleasant Fruit-Trees. For further Particulars, inquire of Jonathan Bradley, living on said Premises.

LOST on Saturday the 3d of this Instant *March*, between Five and Ten of the Clock in the Morning, Five Johannes or Joseph's, or both, loose out of my Pocket, between my Dwelling-House in *Abington*, and the Widow *Sylvanus Richardson's* in *Roxbury*. Whoever shall take up said Pieces of Money, and will give Information to the Printers hereof, or to the Subscriber, shall have Ten Dollars Reward, or Two Dollars for each Piece, paid by me the Subscriber.

Abington, March 5, 1770. ZENAS SMITH.

CASH given for SALTS, by

Ignatius Goulding at *Holden*, or by *Samuel* and *Stephen Salsbury*, at their Store in *Worcester*: Where may be had a good Assortment of Hard-Ware Goods, imported before the Agreement of Non-Importation took Place.—ALSO, a very good Assortment of West India Goods, very cheap for Cash.

TO be Sold at public Vendue on the Twentieth Day of March next, a FARM belonging to JOHN EATON, now in the Occupation of Jonathan Farrin, situated in Killingly, on Quinebaug River, by Eaton's Mill, and contains about 200 Acres of Land, with a good House, Barn and Orchard, and is well watered and accommodated for Mowing, Ploughing and Pasturing.—The Sale to begin at Twelve of the Clock, at the House on the Premises. For further Particulars, Enquire of the Subscriber at the Mills near the Premises, who will dispose of said Farm any Time before said Day at private Sale: Good Security will be taken for Part.—Also to be Sold by the Subscriber, about 44 Acres adjoining the Premises, at private Sale, containing good Interval and Pasture. MARSON EATON,

Killingley, February 25, 1770.

FOUR Months further being allowed, by the Honorable Judge of Probate to the Creditors of the Estate of *Hezekiah Leavitt*, late of *Hingham*, Merchant, deceased, represented Insolvent, to give in their Claims and prove their Debts: Notice is hereby given to them that the Commissioners will attend to receive their Claims at the late Dwelling-House of the Deceased, in *Hingham*, on the second Monday of *March* and *April*, and the first and third Monday of *May* next, from Two to Eight o'Clock in the Afternoon; and those who neglect to give in their Claims before the Expiration of the said four Months will be excluded.

Hingham, February 6d, 1770.

Sein Twine.

The right sort of three-threaded

Sein Twine

AND

Choice New RAISINS,

To be Sold by

Thomas Walley,

At his Store on Dock-Square.

Also a few Casks of good Rice, several Hogsheads of the BEST JAMAICA SUGARS, cheap for Cash.

A Quantity of the very best *French* INDIGO.

Choice Green COFFEE, by the Hogshead or Hundred.

The excellent NEW-ENGLAND Flour of Mustard (so much admired by all who have tried it) by the Bottle or Pound, with large Allowance to those that buy to sell again.

Dutch Giasses of various Sizes, Spectacles, Dutch Buttons,

BEST RUSSIA DUCK,——Rosin by the Barrel,

Hampers of Stone Ware, containing Quart, Pint Mugs and Chamber Pots.

And

All Sorts of Groceries as usual.

A Quantity of Choice FLAX to be Sold at said Place.

N. B. Cash given for BEES WAX at said Store.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN, That a valuable Tract of Land lying partly in *Brookfield*, and near to *Kennebeck* River, in the County of *Lincoln*, is now selling; and there still remain about Twenty Lots to be disposed of to Settlers.

The said Lots are very commodiously laid out, and contain 150 Acres each; which on easy Conditions of Settlement will be given away to good Settlers, that shall be well recommended for their Honesty and Industry.

Persons of this Character inclining to become Settlers may apply to *Abraham Preble*, Esq; in *Brookfield*, or to Mr. *John Read* in *Boston*, who will give them further Information.

To be Sold at the House of Capt. Whiting, Innholder in Littleton, in the County of Middlesex, at Public Vendue, on Friday the 30th March Current, at Noon, (if not sold before at private Sale) A FARM in said Littleton, called Peacock Farm, containing 150 or 160 Acres more or less of 23 exceeding good Land; bounded partly on Stow and Acton and on Fort Pond, with a Dwelling-House and a good Orchard thereon.—If it will not suit the Purchasers to pay the Money on the Sale, good Security on Interest will be taken therefor. Enquire of the Widow Mary Prescot, in Littleton, or of Edes & Gill.

To be Sold at the House of Mr. Winslow, Innholder in Petersham, in the County of Worcester, at Public Vendue, on Wednesday the 23d of May next, at Noon, if not sold before at private Sale, a Tract of Land in said Petersham, containing more than 300 Acres, most of it choice Land and well timbered; with two Houses and the Remains of a Saw Mill & Grist Mill thereon: about two Miles from the Rev. Mr. Whitney's Meeting-House in said Town, and formerly the Estate of Jonathan Prescott, Esq; deceased.—Thro' said Land runs the County Road, and also a River (a constant stream) extremely commodious for Mills. The said Land may be conveniently divided into several Farms, as may suit the Purchasers, who (if it be inconvenient to pay the Money on the Sale) may have a reasonable Time to pay the same, giving good Security on Interest. Enquire of Edes & Gill.

To be Sold on the Premisses, or at the Tavern nearest the same, at Public Vendue, on Wednesday the 28th Day of March Instant (if not sold before at private Sale) a good FARM in Newtown, containing about forty Acres, with a Dwelling-House, Barn, and Orchard thereon; about ten Miles from Boston; bounded on Land belonging to *Henry Sewall*, Esq; *Samuel Kilton* and *Ebenezer Bartlet*, and lying on the County Road leading from the lower Falls in said Newtown to Watertown; being the Farm whereon Mr. Alexander Shepard lives.——If the Purchaser should not incline to pay the Money immediately, good Security therefor on Interest will be taken. Enquire of Edes & Gill.

To be Sold by public Vendue on the 28th Day of March next, at the House of Mr. Joshua Wyman, Innholder in Woburn, in the County of Middlesex, at One o'Clock in the Afternoon of said Day, by Order obtained from the Superior Court of Judicature, holden at Cambridge, on the last Tuesday of October, Anno Domini, 1769.

THE Corn House and Pulling-Mill, with a Dwelling House and about 20 or 30 Acres of Land adjoining, situate on the great Road from Billerica, Andover, &c. to Medford, about one Mile and half South of the Meeting-House in said Parish in Woburn aforesaid, about eight Miles and half from Charles Town Ferry; which Mills are generally well supply'd with Water thro' the Year; and now in good Repair. All which were Part of the Real Estate of William Belknap, late of Woburn, aforesaid, Gentleman, deceased.——All who are disposed to attend and purchase, shall be handsomely treated by Samuel Belknap of Woburn aforesaid, Administrator, of whom everyone disposed may at any Time enquire for further Particulars. SAM. BELKNAP, Administrator.

Woburn, 22d February, 1770.

CASH.

TO be given for POTASH, damaged POTASH, or BLACK SALTS, by NATHANIEL SARTELL PRENTICE, at Grafton.

To be Sold by Publick Vendue, on WEDNESDAY the 14th Day of March Inst. at One o'Clock at Noon, if not Sold before at private Sale,

The Sloop SALLY, about 80 Tons Burthen, well found, now lying at Bradford's Wharf.— The Sale to be at said Wharf.

For further Particulars, inquire of Thomas Bradford.

To be Sold by PUBLIC VENDUE, On TUESDAY the 3d Day of *April* next, At 11 o'Clock, A. M.

A Dwelling-House and Land, in good Repair, in Queen-Street, Boston, opp site the new Court-House, well situated for Business, belonging to the Estate of Mr. *Samuel Kneeland*, late of *Boston*, Printer, deceased. Also to be Sold at the same Time and Place, a Right of Land to the Town of *Abbercrom*, in the County of *Worcester*, belonging to said Estate.

Boston, March 5, 1770.

A BELL-Foundery

Lately Erected, by ISAAC HOBART of Abington, (By an Air Furnace.)

WHERE BELLS are cast of any Size, suitable for Churches, equal to, and the Cheapest that can be Imported. Inquire of JOSEPH WEBB, of Boston, or the said HOBART.

The Public are hereby Notified,

That the Managers of Faneuil-Hall LOTTERY, Letter D, are now selling up the Tickets and making the necessary Preparations for Drawing, which they determine shall Commence very soon.—Those who design to be Adventurers must apply immediately for Tickets or they will be disappointed.

WHEREAS his excellency Benning Wentworth, Esq; late governour of the province of New Hampshire, pursuant to several grants from his Majesty, granted to a number of his Majesty's loyal subjects about 130 townships of land then lying in said Hampshire province, west of Connecticut river, and east of the line of the province of New-York, and north of the line of the Massachusetts-Bay government, which grants being made agreeable to said orders from his Majesty, to encourage those of considerable settlements here unto made on said land, by the proprietors to whom said grants were made. And as by reason of some representations since made to his Majesty, he has been pleased to annex the said land to the province of New-Hampshire to the government of New-York both re-granted a considerable part of those lands to other Persons, to the exclusion of the original proprietors, and entire land governour Wentworth, and whereas the claimers under the power of New-York have begun to disposses many of the settlers upon the said Hampshire governour's grants and more suits are now carrying on and to be commenced against the said Hampshire claimers, which appearing to be grievous, burthensome and very expensive to those who are obliged to defend said Hampshire titles, which many of them are alike interested in the cause.——Therefore at a meeting of a considerable number of said Hampshire proprietors held in Sharon, in Litchfield county, on the 23d day of January 1770, it was agreed, that a general meeting of the said Hampshire claimers be warned by advertisements in the public prints of this and the neighbouring governments, to be held on the 2d Thursday of March next, at the house of Charles Burrell, Esq; in Canaan, to consult and agree upon the best method to defend said Hampshire proprietors as are hereby defend by themselves or their agents, to attend said meeting at the said time and place, for the said purpose.

TO BE SOLD,

(And enter'd upon immediately)

Situated on the Great Road, and well accommodated for Entertainment,

The great Tavern in Sudbury,

now in the Occupation of Mr. William Bryant: For further Particulars enquire of Zachariah Johonnot, Esq; in Boston.

TO BE SOLD,

A very good Farm lying in the South Part of Dedham, about 15 Miles Distance from the Town-House in Boston, and half a Mile South from the Great Road leading to Walpole, containing between 200 and 300 Acres, all very good Land, and lies in one whole Piece. Any Person or Persons inclining to purchase the same, may have it upon easy Terms, paying Part of the Money down, and the other to be upon Interest with good Security. Those who incline to purchase may inquire of Edes and Gill, Printers, and know further.

TO BE SOLD,

Two Tracts of Land situate in

Granville, in the County of Hampshire, one containing about six hundred acres, the other about five hundred and fifty. Also about one hundred acres of land situate in Pittsborough so called, formerly Londonborough. Also two Lots of Land situate on a range of Lots formerly laid out by Mr. John Allen, and measures seventy six feet in the front on a Way or Street of forty feet wide, leading down to Charles River at the westerly part of Boston. Also a large and convenient dwelling house suitable for a large family, with a large yard, garden, barn, good pump, & c. Also, Mr. Smith also at the westerly part of Boston, all belonging to the estate of the Rev. Thomas Foxcroft, late of Boston, deceas'd.

N. B. The above is sold for the benefit of the heirs, and as the money is not wanted, good security for the greatest part on interest will suit for pay. Inquire of Daniel Marsh, of Boston Executor to the said deceased.

Boston, Printed by EDES & GILL, *in Queen-Street.* 1770.

Edes & Gill did issue a handbill "On the Death of Five young Men who was Murthered, March 5th 1770. By the 29th Regiment,"[1] but it was a poem of six verses and adorned with five coffins with the initials of the slain men. As one is for Patrick Carr, who did not die until Wednesday the 14th, the handbill must have been issued after that date and consequently after the *Boston Gazette* of the 12th, in which four of the coffins had appeared.

The *Massachusetts Gazette and the Boston Weekly News-Letter,* the government organ published by Draper, was issued March 8, but begged to be excused from giving a detailed account of the affair, as evidences were being collected and would be published when the full account had been prepared. No other newspaper printed in Boston at that time enjoyed this advantage of time, for the *Massachusetts Gazette* and *Boston Post Boy* (Green & Russell), the *Boston Evening Post* (T. & J. Fleet) and the *Boston Gazette* (Edes & Gill) all appeared on March 12, and only in the *Boston Gazette* did an adequate journalistic treatment of the affair appear — a page and a half of matter. The Fleets also put forth a supplement but nearly five columns in six were given to news, not to advertisements. In no case was haste or pressure shown in the make-up of the sheets.

It is impossible to determine which issue of the *Boston Gazette* came first. With two competing journals the advantage of printing a sheet of four pages over an issue of six is evident; yet one of the competing newspapers also put out a supplement. Of seven known copies of the *Boston Evening Post* four have the Supplement; of eight known copies of the *Boston Gazette* only two have the Supplement. Would this suggest that the Supplement was dropped in part of the issue? Yet why were the advertisements in the two issues of page four altered?

The number of the *Boston Gazette* of March 12 has been reprinted a number of times, largely because of the heavy mourning borders which make it conspicuous. No less than seven such reprints have been noted, in no case an exact facsimile of the original but a setting in modern type, and

[1] Reproduced in *Proceedings,* LVI. 268.

in every case the Antiquarian Society's edition has been used. The variant in the Massachusetts Historical Society is identified for the first time by Mr. Wheeler.

Theodore Dwight, 1800.

Mr. Norcross read the following extract from a letter written at Hartford, December 19, 1800, by Theodore Dwight to Rev. Jedidiah Morse of Charlestown:

There is every reason to expect that Jefferson and Burr will be our President and Vice-President. A letter from Gen. Pinckney at Columbia of the 29th of November says that by reason of the absence of ten Federal Members of their Legislature it is probable that Jefferson and Burr will have all the votes of that state. This news will flush the Jacobins to a high degree and during the paroxism everything will be borne down by the clamor. We must wait a few weeks for this uproar to subside. Then the greatest exertions must be made by all. The dissolution of the government, or the separation of the United States is at hand.

George Ticknor to Charles S. Daveis.[1]

Boston, 13 April, [18]42.

My dear Charles, — I congratulate you, as far as a fond father may be congratulated, on what, after all, works a partial separation between you and one of your children, and changes, in some degree, the purest, if not the most tenderly and passionately deep of all the relations of life. But, it is right, and, if we feel right, though it interferes a little with our happiness, it, on the whole increases that same happiness by adding the little that was wanted to make it quite disinterested. We give away much when we give a daughter to another; but we keep much — what we keep may be made more precious — and we may even find that we have added to it materially.[2] I have not the pleasure to know Mr. Haskins;

[1] Charles Stewart Daveis, of Portland, Maine, a prominent lawyer of that place and the writer selected to prepare a biography of Henry Knox. He married Elizabeth Taylor, daughter of Gov. John Taylor Gilman, of New Hampshire. In the *Life and Letters of George Ticknor* are a number of letters to Daveis.

[2] Mary, daughter of Daveis, married Rev. David Greene Haskins, of Cambridge.

but he comes of good kith and kin, and I have lived long enough to believe a good deal in such matters; and for the rest, I am quite willing to trust Mary's heart and your judgment. God bless all of you; and make the relations this new connexion introduces, sources of happiness to all of you, and especially to your dear wife, to whom it is, after all, of *nearer* not graver importance than it is to you. Give Mary my love, and offer my regards and congratulations to Mr. Haskins, whom I am apt to look upon as best off in the circle, and, when he comes to Boston, you must manage things for me so that I shall see one who is become so influential a personage among you all.

Your letter announcing the engagement came yesterday, but I had one of earlier date laying open before me, when it was laid on my table all about Cogswell, etc.[3] I agree with you, he has decided rightly. Indeed, as you lawyers say, it does not lay in *my* mouth to speak otherwise; for while his appointment was still doubtful, I advised him not to accept it; if Mr. Astor would agree to exactly the conditions he has now offered — conditions which I regard as honourable alike to him and to Cogswell and which make for Cogswell a place where he can be much more useful than he could be at Madrid. But on my own account, I feel the loss very severely. I would have made large sacrifices to induce him to go to Spain, for by so doing, I could have procured from him services during six months, which would have cost him almost no time or labour, and would have been very important to me. But, as I said at first, it is right as it is and I rejoice in it. . . .

We are all well; but have been a little saddened of late by the deaths that have been thick around us, and the sickness which has been quite unusual in amount. Among the rest my nephew and niece, B. R. Curtis and his wife [4] have lost in a few days their two eldest children by scarlet fever; — a fearful disease, which seems to have come round again with the malignity it had during the first century of our New England existence, but which, until lately, was hardly believed to have been so formidable, as the records of the early physicians set forth. Deaths have occurred here in sixteen hours from it.

Miss Wormeley [5] is still with us; but will, probably go south soon, as far as Baltimore — perhaps further. We shall remain hereabouts till June, and, after that, shall be little seen, till October.

[3] Mary Gilman, sister of Mrs. Daveis, married Joseph Green Cogswell.

[4] Eliza Maria, daughter of William H. Woodward and Eliza Curtis. She died, July, 1844.

[5] *Correspondence of William Hickling Prescott*, 374 *n*.

Meantime, take care of yourself and let us hear from you. I do not like to gather from a word in your last letter, that you are not as well as you were when you were in Boston. Intermit work. Put it upon Edward. *Juniores ad labores* is a good rule, and he is equal to whatever you may need to cast on him. Yrs. affectionately,

GEO: TICKNOR.

BOSTON, April 26, 1848.

. . . . . .

Here we talk about nothing but Europe. Mexican War and President making are small matters, when once a week we get by driblets the overthrow of an Empire. How they are to reconstruct society in France is the first great problem. I see no way but through despotism — a military despotism, either of the army or the armed mob. But, it looks as if the decaying civilization of our times, like that of the fourth and fifth centuries of the Roman Empire, were to go through a series of convulsions and then, through great suffering and after entire exhaustion, give place to something entirely different from anything that now exists. How *we* are to be affected by it is wholly beyond conjecture. But in the present state of the world, half christendom cannot suffer without carrying many mischiefs and griefs through the rest of it. However, I am no croaker and so I stop, sending love to all of *you* from all of *us*. Yours always.

CALDWELL, LAKE GEORGE,
August 30, '53

. . . . . .

I was a little undecided, almost to the last, whether to come here or not. Our summer had been much broken up by different demands upon our time and hospitality and it seemed hardly worth while to come so far for the short time we could be absent. But the popular vote of the family, and especially the preponderating desires of the younger part of it, were clearly in favor of the expedition — rail-roads half annihilate distance — and so getting into the train at quarter before eight in the morning, we were deposited within fifteen miles of this place at 5 P. M. without changing cars; and at 8 o'clock were safely settled here, having come 265 miles. And here we have been ever since, quiet as mice and contented as kittens; living in the same nice quarters that we have had for three years; consorting mainly with the same persons, old *habitués* of the house; and rowing, walking, sketching, talking and enjoying all the manifold forms of idleness appropriate to such a place, with

none to molest or make us afraid; not even our own consciences. We shall be very sorry to leave so much that is pleasant, healthy, and beneficent; but there are duties elsewhere, and so we go back to busy life again in three or four days — about the time you will receive this.

A great many people come here for a day or two; many more for a single night; a few — among whom are Dr. Beck who wrote the valuable book about Legal Medicine,[6] and Dr. Campbell [7] the crack Presbyterian preacher at Albany — for the whole season. With these last and their families and clique we live when we are here and find it very agreeable. Now and then, we are roused up to something exciting, but very rarely. The most disturbing event we have had this season was the appearance of Father Gavazzi,[8] who, on slight invitation, favoured us with a lecture in the Court House. It was not without real ability; — generally commonplace, however, and sometimes in bad taste; — but notwithstanding his strong foreign accent, his manner was quite effective — quite *entraînant;* not indeed, without a touch of the mountebank but very earnest, easy and dramatick. In his own language and with the excitable population of Italy, he is the man for a revolution — a rowdy with talent and tact enough to carry it through.

We send our love to all — three generations — and ask for news of all. Yrs. always.

BOSTON, 12 Sep., '57.

. . . . . .

The last month I was in England, I spent in the country, at the houses of different friends. Among the rest, I visited your old friend Lord Fitzwillian,[9] whom I found the same true-hearted, excellent man he always was; but somewhat broken and infirm. He is, I think, seventy-one or seventy-two, and seems wearing out with old age — not with any particular derangement of his system. His children — especially his two unmarried daughters, Charlotte and Dorothy [10] — are great comforts to him, and render the decline of his life very happy and cheerful. He asked after you as soon as I saw him, and seemed much interested in the accounts I gave him of you; — but when I parted from him, he gave me no message,

[6] The *Elements of Medical Jurisprudence* was the joint production of Theodoric Romeyn Beck and his brother, John Brodhead Beck.

[7] John Nicholson Campbell (1798–1864).

[8] Alessandro Gavazzi (1809–1889).

[9] Charles William Wentworth Fitzwilliam, Earl Fitzwilliam (1786–1857), editor of the *Correspondence of Edmund Burke.*

[10] Both died unmarried, Charlotte in 1883 and Dorothy Henrietta in 1882.

for he quite broke down with the thought of not seeing a person again, not *me* I think, but *any* person; so plainly does he feel his decline. The scene was so embarrassing, that I could not wait for what he might have to say, nor to say what I intended to myself, about you and my own household. . . . Yours always.

BOSTON, 25 March, '64

. . . . . .

My letters from our old friend Gardiner [11] this winter have been very remarkable and those from his family no less so — and yet they did not prepare my thoughts for the final rupture of a cord that goes back so far into the past The telegram of Wednesday morning was a shock and so was the letter from Hallowell that followed it, written only an hour after that going down of the sun that witnessed the striking gathering round the death bed and the release of the clear, unobstructed spirit with the final benediction. So few words as he used, could hardly have contained more that was striking, characteristic and consoling. It was a most consistent end to a consistent life.

I have not heard from Cogswell for some time; but I wrote to him two days ago and shall hope to hear from him soon. The last time he wrote — nearly a month ago — he was preparing an essay on Autographs for the Great Fair, which like the fairs all round, Washington, Baltimore, Brooklyn, Boston, etc., seem most ingeniously arranged to plague people of every possible condition. I have had a great many letters — some very queer — all troublesome. But I will not trouble you with my small affairs.

We all send love to you and yours; and I am always — whether demonstrative or silent — the same old friend you have always known.

I went to see Savage [12] yesterday — old but strong and bright; — and then I went to see Minot [13] — not quite so old or strong, but equally bright. Both were much moved with Hallowell's letter; but each in his several way — Minot very tenderly, Savage deeply, strongly.

JOHN SULLIVAN TO PARSONS AND BRADBURY.[14]

DURHAM, March the 8, 1785

GENTLEMEN, — Mr. Peter French, late deceased, came to me the Last of November, 1782, and agreed to study Law under my direc-

[11] Robert Hallowell Gardiner (1782–1864).
[12] James Savage (1784–1873).
[13] William Minot (1783–1873).
[14] From the Washburn Autographs, 010.7, f. 18.

tions; but as his affairs would not permit him to come into my office till May following, I furnished him with Books for enabling him to pursue his studies at home. In May, 1783, he came to my office and pursued his studies till November Last, when upon application the Gentlemen of the bar determined that he had compleated the two years within the meaning of our Rule; and he was sworn without the least objection.

When he came to me we agreed that I should have what was customary in your State and you, Gentlemen, were to decide the price. His Father and I are now about settling and beg your opinions; and that you will be kind enough to write it on the back of this Letter and return it. I forgot to mention that from the time of his coming to my office he boarded with me and had his washing and Ironing done in my family. I have the honor to be, with the most sincere regard, Gentlemen, your most obedt. servt.

JNO. SULLIVAN.

[Replies.]

DEAR SIR, — In answer to yours within I can only say, that the only Clerks I have had in my office with whom I have settled gave me £70 for *instruction*, for they did not *board* with me. At that time there was an agreement in Boston not to take less than £100 sterling for instruction, and fault was found that I and the Gentlemen in this County took less. Since that time there has been an agreement at Boston not to take less than £100 lawful Money, the agreement to extend to the County of Essex. Since which time I have received two Clerks into my office for whose instruction I am to have £100 each, and I do not board them. I have heard that Mr. Lincoln of Worcester takes £70 for instruction, and I can give you no other information upon the Subject. I am with esteem your humble Servt. and Brother,

THEOP. PARSONS.

DEAR SIR, — Having had no Clerk with me since I lived in this County, I can only say that the only information I can give upon the subject of your letter is what I have read from Mr. Parsons as entered above. Instruction and board have I believe ever been considered apart, the latter being generally different in different places. I am with much Regard your very humble Servt.

THEOP. BRADBURY.

NEWBURYPORT, March 17, 1785.

ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL, 1926.

THE Annual Meeting of the Society was held in the Dowse Library on Thursday, April 8, 1926, at 3 P.M., President MOORE in the chair.

The record of the March meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From the Bostonian Society, a Bible, Cambridge, England, 1668, with Book of Common Prayer, and Book of Psalms by Sternhold and Hopkins, 1666, owned, Sept., 1754, by Jonathan Belcher, Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, son of Governor Jonathan Belcher of Massachusetts and of New Jersey. It contains entries of the marriage of Chief Justice Belcher and Abigail, daughter of Jeremiah Allen, of Boston, April 8, 1756, and the birth records of their children. Beside the autograph signature of the Chief Justice it has that of " G. Stirling."

From Miss Josephine MacChord Shaw, of Waban, some additional family papers of Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw, 1795–1858.

From Frank A. Manny, of Boxford, three photostat copies of papers by Zerobabell Endecott, 1702, Thomas Kilham, 1776, and John Sawyer, Jr., 1864.

From Edward H. Jenkins, of New Haven, a Bill of Sale of one-half of the mulatto boy Salathiel, by Patience Hatch of Falmouth, Mass., to her partner Silvanus Hatch, for thirteen pounds, until he shall arrive at the age of thirty years, dated Feb. 8, 1760.

From Grenville H. Norcross, additional papers, 1873–1876, of the Summer Street Fire Committee, and a paper of the Massachusetts Soldiers' Fund, May 1, 1861.

From Edgar Yates, of Stoughton, a letter by Edward Bellamy to him, dated Chicopee Falls, Mass., April 6, 1889, printed at the time in the New York Press.

From Miss Sarah P. Cushing, in memory of the late Percival Roberts, a volume of facsimiles of manuscripts in the British Museum with editorial notes, references and translation by George F. Warner.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration, George F. Baker Foundation, a bronze medal awarded each

year for distinguished contemporary services to advertising, the Harvard University award founded by Edward W. Bok, 1908.

From James Lehan, of Stoughton, two half-tones: the Doty Tavern, Ponkapog, Canton; and a group, the Oldest Quartet in America, members of the Old Music Society of Stoughton, George W. Dutton, George H. Goward, Henri L. Johnson, and Erastus Smith.

From Grenville H. Norcross, two bronze medals struck in honor of Ambassador Jean Jules Jusserand by the people of Washington, D. C., on his departure for France, and by the American Historical Association; also photographs, 1868, of Henry Ward Beecher, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Gen. U. S. Grant, and Schuyler Colfax, and of Hiram R. Revels, from Mississippi, the first colored Senator.

From Rev. G. Clinton Hedman, of Jamaica, the Jamaica, 1862, Christian penny ha'penny bit.

And by purchase, the Panama Pacific Exposition gold dollar of 1915; the Old Hawes School Girls gold medal, 1888; medal of James Ryder Randall and Francis Scott Key, 1915; and the Louisiana Purchase Medal.

Dr. Harvey Cushing, of Brookline, was elected a Resident Member, and Charles Victor Langlois, of Paris, France, a Corresponding Member of the Society.

The Society then proceeded with the business of the Annual Meeting.

Professor GREENOUGH made the

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

On November 9, 1924, Henry Cabot Lodge, the ninth President of this Society, died at Cambridge. Four days later, at the regular November meeting of the Council, Arthur Lord, our senior Vice-President, was chosen President for the remainder of the year, and on the same day the election was announced to the Society by the Recording Secretary. Mr. Lord then and there became our tenth President. He presided at the November meeting and the three following meetings, discharged all the duties of his office with marked success, and at the next annual meeting, on April 9, 1925, from which he was absent on account of serious illness, he

was elected by the Society to continue in the office to which the Council had chosen him. On the following day he died at Boston — not, however, without knowing that he had reached the office which we may suppose he had long hoped to fill and which he had expected to make his main interest in life. At the May meeting, warm and well deserved tributes were paid to Mr. Lord's character and his services to the Society; but no mention of him, however brief, should close without a renewed expression of our regard and debt to one of our ablest and most devoted members.

The Society continued its policy of sharing its treasures with the public by holding, in April, an exhibition of Winthrop portraits lent by Miss Clara B. Winthrop, of Winthrop papers selected from the valuable collection in the possession of the Society, and of historical materials relating to the battles of Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill. This material was in most cases lent by the owners. It included such valuable and interesting pieces as the companion portraits of Revere and Dawes, and a remarkable collection of Paul Revere silver. The exhibition was, as usual, well attended. The borrowed material was guarded night and day until it was safely returned to its owners, to whom the Society's hearty thanks are due.

The publications of the year 1925–1926 were the four following volumes: *Proceedings,* volume 58; volume VII of the House Journals, covering the years 1726–1727; The Correspondence of William Hickling Prescott, 1833–1847, transcribed and edited by Roger Wolcott; and volume I of the Winthrop Papers, covering the period from 1498 to 1628.

The volumes now being printed or in preparation for the press are six in number: the *Proceedings,* volume 59; the *Collections,* volume 77 (Massachusetts Privateer Bonds in the Revolution); the Winthrop Papers, volume II; the House Journals, volume VIII (1727–1728); The Correspondence of John Chipman Gray and John Codman Ropes during the Civil War; and the Letters of Edmund Quincy, 1775–1780. It is hoped that four of these volumes will appear in the course of the coming year.

Perhaps our members do not all realize the marked increase

of late years in the volume of our publications. In the five years ending in 1915 we published seven volumes; in the next five years, eleven volumes; in the next five years — the period just ended — nineteen volumes. In other words, we are now publishing very nearly four volumes a year. Moreover, until the Bradford History appeared in 1912, the Society almost never published a volume outside of its two regular series, the *Proceedings* and the *Collections*. But of the thirty-seven volumes that we have issued in the last fifteen years, no fewer than sixteen have been outside these two regular series.

In spite of the generosity of members of the Society and the incessant labors of the Editor (who has also been a generous contributor to our *Proceedings*) this greatly increased volume of publication has, in the opinion of the Council, created a situation that calls for an increased cooperative effort on the part of members of the Society. It is, accordingly, hoped that such members as may be asked to give additional time or money to further our programme of publication will do so with the feeling that in no better way can the Society maintain its prestige and discharge the responsibility implied in its possession of such rich stores of material still unpublished.

Not only through printed books but also by means of photostatic copies of rare printed material has the Society labored to spread historical knowledge. The photostat, which for some time has been rather more than self-supporting, was used during the year mostly for continuing the work outlined by the Editor a year ago.[1] The Society has purchased, for use in connection with the photostat, a new mechanical device which permits the use of both sides of the leaf, instead of only one. The thickness of bound volumes of photostatic prints is thus reduced by one-half. The cost of this machine has already been met from the profits of the photostat.[2]

[1] *Proceedings*, LVIII. 288 (April, 1925).

[2] The Editor was kind enough to send some notes which he thought might be useful to the writer of this report. Although they did not arrive until after the report was finished, one may, as a footnote, insert here something from the Editor on the work of the photostat. He says:

"The photostat of the Society has been fully employed during the year.

In conclusion, the Council wishes briefly but emphatically to reiterate our need of additional room for our material, our visitors, and ourselves. Whatever special reasons we may have for congratulation, the general state of the Society cannot be called satisfactory so long as the storage, use, and exhibition of our possessions are limited by our present inadequate quarters.

Mr. FORBES submitted the

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

In compliance with the requirements of the By-laws, Chapter VII, article 2, the Treasurer respectfully submits his Annual Report made up to April 1st, 1926.

The Special funds now held by the Treasurer are thirty-six, having been increased by the Henry Cabot Lodge Fund of $5,000.00 during the year. There was added to the principal of the Adams Fund $926.32 from the sale of Publications; also there was a gift of $100.00 from Grenville Bayard Winthrop toward the publication of the Winthrop papers. Through the interest of Mr. Frederic Winthrop, gifts of $2,500.00 was received from Mrs. H. H. Kean and of $2,500.00 from Albertine van Royen, daughters of Robert Winthrop, to be added to the Robert Winthrop Fund and administered in the same manner. A list of the securities now on hand follows and shows:

	Par Value	Cost
Bonds	$434,000.00	$425,931.16
Stocks	202,700.00	219,163.50

The number of prints made was 25,988, which brings the total product since the installation to 248,232, of which more than eighty per cent. have been distributed to subscribing libraries. . . . There are technical problems still to be solved by the makers of the paper used, but in time it is expected they will be fully met and the Society will probably be the first to have turned out a volume of prints reproducing in every particular the form of the original. The leading series in the reproduction of newspapers made in the last year were the *Boston News-Letter,* 1759–1762, the *Virginia Gazette,* 1736–1746, two files of general interest and with special application to a northern and southern colony."

represented by Investment Account, $645,094.66. There were also balances in Savings Bank Books totalling $1,328.59.

The Building Fund was increased by donations of $1,000.00 from Mr. Grenville H. Norcross, $250.00 from Dr. J. Collins Warren and $200.00 from Mr. Allan Forbes and now shows an amount invested of $31,843.84 with cash in bank of $547.86.

For the purchase of two portraits, gifts were received from Messrs. Dowse, Endicott, Farlow, Kellen, Nichols, Norcross, Shattuck, J. C. Warren, and Walkins, amounting to $450, for the portrait of Lafayette by Pratt, 1825, and from Messrs. Bigelow, Norcross, and J. C. Warren amounting to $350, for the portrait of Gen. Joseph Warren, the gifts being credited to the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund.

It is with regret that I report that interest due August 1, 1925, on $2,000.00 Detroit, Ypsilanti, Ann Arbor and Jackson Railway 5% bonds due February 1, 1926, was defaulted and the same is true of interest due January 1, 1926, $2,000.00 Grand Rapids, Grand Haven and Muskegon 5s, due July 1, 1926.

A protective committee is being formed and the first-named bonds will be deposited in due course.

When the Grand Rapids, Grand Haven and Muskegon bonds were purchased it was with the understanding that they had been assumed by the United Light and Power Company — a perfectly responsible organization — which was confirmed in Moody's Manual. Later, however, it developed that there was a clause in the latter's bond indenture which raised a question on this point and this is now being fought out by a strong committee of bondholders with which we have deposited our holdings.

It is only fair to say that other investments the Committee has made have appreciated in value more than enough to offset any possible loss on these bonds.

According to action taken by the Council our salary account has been increased but our income is sufficient to take care of this increase under ordinary conditions and it seems fitting thus to reward faithful and intelligent service.

Once more I wish to express my appreciation of the co-

operation shown by members of the Finance Committee in regard to all matters of investment and especially to Mr. Norcross who in addition to his advice is so helpful in assisting the Treasurer in cutting coupons.

ALLAN FORBES,
Treasurer.

INVESTMENTS

SCHEDULE OF BONDS

American Sugar Refining Co.	6%	1937	$15,000.00
American Tel. & Tel. Co.	5	1960	10,000.00
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe R. R. Adj.	4	1995	9,000.00
Baltimore & Ohio R. R.	4	1959	3,000.00
Bangor & Aroostook R. R.	4	1951	10,000.00
Belgium, Kingdom of	7½	1945	9,000.00
Blackstone Valley Gas & Elec.	5	1939	10,000.00
Boston & Albany R. R.	5	1938	10,000.00
Boston & Maine R. R.	4½	1944	6,000.00
Boston Elevated Railway Co.	5	1942	8,000.00
Central Maine Power Co.	7	1941	10,000.00
Chicago Jct. Ry. & Union Stock Yards	5	1940	10,000.00
Cleveland Short Line	4½	1961	10,000.00
Columbus Elec. & Pr. Co.	5	1927	5,000.00
Connecticut Power Co.	5	1963	10,000.00
Connecticut Light & Power Co.	7	1951	9,000.00
Consolidated Gas, El. Lt. & Pr. Co. Baltimore	6	1949	10,000.00
Dedham Water Co.	5	1935	5,000.00
Denmark, Kingdom of	6	1942	10,000.00
Detroit-Edison Co.	5	1933	10,000.00
Duquesne Light Co.	6	1949	10,000.00
Edison Elect. Ill. Co. of Boston	4½	1928	5,000.00
Fitchburg R. R.	4	1927	9,000.00
Home Tel. & Tel. Co.	5	1936	20,000.00
Long Island R. R.	4	1949	6,000.00
Massachusetts Lighting Cos.	7	1930	10,000.00
New England Tel. & Tel. Co.	5	1932	10,000.00
New York Central & H. R. R. R.	4	1934	15,000.00
New York Central Lines	5	1935	5,000.00
New York Central Lines	5	1936	5,000.00
Old Colony Gas Co.	5	1931	5,000.00
Oregon Short Line R. R.	5	1946	10,000.00
Pacific Gas & Elec. 1st & Ref.	5½	1952	10,000.00
Pacific Tel. & Tel. Co.	5	1937	10,000.00
Pere Marquette R. R.	5	1956	15,000.00
Railway & Light Sec. Co.	5	1946	5,000.00
Rio Grande Western R. R.	4	1939	5,000.00
Seattle Electric Co.	5	1929	5,000.00
Shawinigan Water & Power Co.	6	1950	12,000.00
Southern California Edison Co.	6	1944	10,000.00
Carried forward			$361,000.00

Brought forward			$361,000.00
United Elec. Securities Company	5	1936, '39, '40, '42	23,000.00
United States Steel Corporation	5	1963	10,000.00
Western Tel. & Tel. Co.	5	1932	10,000.00
Western Union Tel. Co.	5	1938	10,000.00
Wilmington City Elec. Co.	5	1951	5,000.00
Winnipeg, City of	6	1946	15,000.00
		Par value	$434,000.00

SCHEDULE OF STOCKS

American Glue Co., com.	25 shs.	$ 2,500.00
American Smelting & Ref. Co., pfd.	75 "	7,500.00
American Sugar Refining Co., pfd.	50 "	5,000.00
American Tel. & Tel. Co.	60 "	6,000.00
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe R. R., pfd.	158 "	15,800.00
Boston & Albany R. R.	35 "	3,500.00
Boston & Maine R. R. Class A	25 "	2,500.00
Boston Real Estate Trust	6 "	6,000.00
Boston Wharf Co.	125 "	12,500.00
Chicago Jct. Ry. & Union Stock Yards, pfd.	150 "	15,000.00
Cincinnati Gas & Elec. Co.	10 "	1,000.00
Consolidated Gas, El. Lt. & Pr. Co. Baltimore	50 "	5,000.00
Duquesne Lt. & Water 7% 1st pfd.	30 "	3,000.00
Electric Bond & Share Co., pfd.	50 "	5,000.00
Kansas City Stock Yards Co., pfd.	302 "	30,200.00
Merchants National Bank of Boston	85 "	8,500.00
National Shawmut Bank of Boston	50 "	5,000.00
Old Colony R. R. Co.	25 "	2,500.00
Pacific Mills	400 "	40,000.00
Puget Sound Lt. & Pr. Co., pfd.	52 "	5,200.00
Puget Sound Lt. & Pr. Co., com.	5 "	500.00
Puget Sound Lt. & Pr. Co., p. pfd.	10 "	1,000.00
Second National Bank of Boston	50 "	5,000.00
State Street Exchange of Boston	5 "	500.00
United Fruit Co.	100 "	10,000.00
Western Union Tel. Co.	40 "	4,000.00
Par value	1973	$202,700.00

SCHEDULE OF SAVINGS BANK BOOKS

Mr. A. Parker Fund (Provident Inst. Savings)	$1,174.75
Brattle St. Church Model Fund (Boston Five Cents)	153.84
	$1,328.59

RECAPITULATION

Bonds, par value	$434,000.00
Stocks, par value	202,700.00
Savings Bank Books	1,328.59
	$638,028.59

Balance Sheet, March 31, 1926

Assets		
Funds and Funds' income:		
Cash	$ 5,073.86	
Investment securities	31,843.84	32,391.70
Savings bank pass books	1,328.59	$651,497.11
Building Fund:		
Cash	547.86	
Investment securities	31,843.84	32,391.70
		$683,888.81
Liabilities		
Funds, principal	578,787.39	
Funds, income	72,709.72	
Building Fund	32,391.70	$683,888.81

Building Fund

Cash on hand April 1, 1925		$ 696.37
Received from gifts:		
G. H. Norcross	$ 1,000.00	
J. Collins Warren	250.00	
Allan Forbes	200.00	1,450.00
Received from interest		1,447.87
Securities sold, matured or called:		
$2,000 Bell Telephone Co. of Canada 7%, 1925	2,000.00	
6,000 Province of British Columbia 6%, 1925	6,000.00	
1,000 Penn-Ohio Edison 6½%, 1927	1,000.00	
5,000 Lehigh Power Securities 6%, 1927	5,050.00	14,050.00
		17,644.24
Securities bought:		
$2,000 Columbus Electric and Power Co. 5%, 1927	2,000.00	
7,000 Great Western Power 5%, 1930	6,926.79	
2,000 Edison Electric Illuminating Co. of Boston 4½%, 1928	2,000.00	
1,000 Columbus Electric and Power Co. 5% notes due November 1, 1928	988.00	
5,000 Hershey Chocolate Co. 5%, 1928	4,993.75	
	16,908.54	
Accrued interest on securities bought, collection charges, etc.	187.84	17,096.38
Cash on hand March 31, 1926		$ 547.86

Building Fund, Income Account

Income:		
Gifts		$1,450.00
Received from interest	$1,447.87	
Less accrued interest on securities bought	187.84	
	1,260.03	
Net gain on sale of investment securities	52.50	1,312.53
Net addition to Building Fund		$2,762.53

EXHIBIT I

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

Balance, March 31, 1925		$646,287.16
Securities purchased:		
$ 5,000 Edison Electric Illuminating Company of Boston, 4½'s, 1928	$ 5,000.00	
10,000 American Telephone & Telegraph Company, 5's, 1960	9,807.50	
Total cost of purchases	$14,807.50	
Less securities sold, called or matured:		
Pere Marquette R. R., 4's, 1956	2,000.00	
United Electric Securities Co., 5's, 1936	1,000.00	
Kansas City, Clinton & Springfield R. R., 5's, 1925	3,000.00	
American Telephone & Telegraph Company, 4's, 1929	10,000.00	
Total cost of sales	$16,000.00	
Net decrease		1,192.50
Balance March 31, 1926		$645,094.66

EXHIBIT II

INDIVIDUAL FUNDS' ACCOUNTS

	Total
Increases:	
Adams	$ 926.32
Lodge	5,046.20
Robert Winthrop	5,000.00
Centenary:	
Sibley	6,659.25
Anonymous	576.12
Total increases	$18,207.89
Decreases:	
Transfers from General Fund to Funds' income accounts:	
Dowse	1,643.34
Salisbury	128.98
	1,772.32
Transfer from Waterston Library Fund to Waterston Library Fund income	1,707.79
Total decreases	$ 3,480.11
Net increase	$14,727.78

EXHIBIT III

Balance Accumulated Income April 1, 1925		$ 88,793.61
Income during the year		48,375.02
		$137,168.63
Added to Principal Centenary Funds	$ 7,235.37	
Expenditures during the year	59,731.13	66,966.50
		$ 70,202.13
Add disbursements charged to Funds	$ 3,480.11	
Less Additions to Principal of Funds	972.52	2,507.59
		$ 72,709.72

EXHIBIT IV

Income Account

Credited to General Fund:		
Publications	$ 1,093.57	
Photostats	6,631.47	
Sale of electrotype	393.72	
Rebates	123.84	
Reimbursement of advances made to Parker Fund income	665.04	
Gifts (except those credited directly to Funds):		
W. B. H. Dowse	1,200.00	
G. B. Winthrop	100.00	
Credited to General Fund income		$10,207.64
Credited to other Funds:		
Income from investments	35,438.31	
Less accrued interest on securities bought	309.44	
	35,128.87	
Interest on bank balances	132.15	
Interest on savings banks balances	58.62	
Sales of books and publications	3,320.74	
Gift of F. T. Bowles to Waterston Library Fund income	100.00	
	38,740.38	
Less net loss on securities sold	573.00	38,167.38
Total income		48,375.02
Deduct income added to Funds:		
Sibley Centenary	6,659.25	
Anonymous	576.12	
Adams	926.32	
Lodge	46.20	8,207.89
Income available for operations		40,167.13
Operating expenses charged against income		56,251.02
Net decrease in Funds' income		$16,083.89

EXPENSE ACCOUNT

Bindery	$ 1,369.71	
Binding	181.85	
Books, manuscripts and photostat negatives	4,204.65	$ 5,756.21
Building:		
Cleaning	583.60	
Engineer	1,573.82	
Fuel	912.80	
Furniture	153.02	
Insurance	977.01	
Light	551.83	
Repairs	2,026.85	
Telephone	162.59	
Water	72.38	7,013.90
Exhibition		1,135.75
Photostat:		
Salary	2,275.00	
Paper	2,660.15	
Developers, etc.	393.66	
Negatives	687.10	
Binding	789.70	
New machine	1,660.00	8,465.61
Portraits and medals		1,480.92
Postage		291.00
Printing:		
Proceedings, Vol. 58	1,928.58	
" " 59	49.39	
Illustrations	394.25	
House Journal	4,186.87	
Prescott Letters	1,371.90	
Winthrop Papers	3,815.19	
Warren-Adams Letters	3,469.73	
Miscellaneous	78.00	15,293.91
Salaries:		
Librarian and assistants	7,650.00	
Editor and assistant	9,080.00	16,730.00
Stationery		277.34
Treasurer's office:		
Auditing and accounting	498.00	
Bond	25.00	
Bookkeeper	1,000.00	
Safe Deposit Vault	60.00	1,583.00
Miscellaneous		1,038.45
Total operating expenses for the year		59,066.09
Expenses prior years now charged to Mary A. Parker Fund		665.04
Total		59,731.13
Charged to Funds' income	56,251.02	
Charged to Funds	3,480.11	$59,731.13

EXHIBIT V

Schedule of Funds

	Balance Mar.31,'25	Income	Payments	Balance Mar.31,'26	Principal of Funds
Adams	$3,792.66	$2,184.92	$3,200.00	$2,777.58	$36,622.70
Amory	532.30	183.31	85.00	630.61	3,000.00
Appleton	1,380.61	747.02	910.00	1,217.63	12,203.00
Bigelow	273.38	130.78	264.89	139.27	2,000.00
Billings	2,813.77	611.95	405.02	3,020.70	10,000.00
Boit	1,986.60	305.97		2,292.57	5,000.00
Brattle Street	44.97	8.87		53.84	100.00
Chamberlain	338.66	75.46	72.38	341.74	1,232.33
Dowse	1,048.17	611.95	700.00	960.12	10,000.00
Ellis	2,939.21	1,938.21	4,175.58	701.84	31,666.66
Frothingham	851.81	183.31		1,035.12	3,000.00
General	7,808.42	15,410.20	22,613.56	605.06	55,716.34
Hunnewell	5,292.71	305.97		5,598.68	5,000.00
Lawrence	1,557.78	183.31		1,741.09	3,000.00
Lodge		184.80		184.80	5,046.20
Lowell	754.48	183.31		937.79	3,000.00
Mass. Hist. Trust	1,385.22	1,411.96	1,482.92	1,314.26	10,031.50
Parker	836.62	49.75	711.62	174.75	1,000.00
Peabody	4,694.42	1,354.16	1,929.17	4,119.41	22,123.00
Salisbury	558.58	305.97	864.55		5,000.00
Savage	1,978.73	366.62	521.14	1,824.21	6,000.00
Schouler	1,129.89	174.35		1,304.24	2,850.00
C. A. S. Sibley	2,329.88	1,377.59	3,180.84	526.63	22,509.48
J. L. Sibley	18,973.06	7,416.57	6,176.50	20,213.13	121,077.00
Slafter	397.19	61.33	58.40	400.12	1,000.00
Chas. Card Smith	2,198.90	917.93	1,875.00	1,241.83	15,000.00
Waterston No. 1	2,759.46	305.97	370.00	2,695.43	5,000.00
Waterston No. 2	5,517.03	611.94	38.52	6,090.45	10,000.00
Waterston No. 3	6,754.93	611.94	1,371.90	5,994.97	10,000.00
Waterston Library	—125.26	154.80	29.54		788.21
R. C. Winthrop	941.80	734.27	770.00	906.07	12,000.00
T. L. Winthrop	1,306.82	144.71		1,451.53	2,364.66
Wm. Winthrop	1,742.19	305.97	640.11	1,408.05	5,000.00
Robert Winthrop	3,998.62	611.96	3,804.38	806.20	15,000.00
Total	$88,793.61	$40,167.13	$56,251.02	$72,709.72	$453,331.08
Sibley Centenary		*6,659.25			115,465.59
Anon. Centenary		576.12			9,990.72
Adams		926.32			
Lodge		46.20			
Total income		$48,375.02			
Total funds					$578,787.39

* These four items are credited to principal of funds.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

Serving as a committee to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society for the year ended March 31, 1926, we attended to that duty and we report that the securities and other evidence of ownership held by the Treasurer for the several funds belonging to the Society coincide with the detailed statement in his annual report.

We engaged Messrs. Lybrand, Ross Brothers & Montgomery, accountants and auditors, who state to us they found the accounts correctly kept with vouchers in suitable form, that the cash balances were verified, and that the trial balance was accurately taken from the ledger.

We recommend that it be considered whether the Treasurer's accounts should not include an inventory of the Society's real estate, equipment, et cetera, together with a book value of the books, manuscripts, paintings, and other objects that make up the Society's collections. It would be something of a task to arrive at an established value of every insurable item, but none the less we feel it would be prudent to carry on the books of the Treasurer a running detailed inventory of the important property owned by the Society.

GEORGE G. WOLKINS
FRANCIS R. HART
Committee.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

During the past year the Library has received, by gift, purchase, and deposit, valuable additions to its large manuscript collection, and more than sixteen hundred volumes and twelve hundred pamphlets of printed material beside maps and broadsides. A detailed report of the most important pieces has been made to the Society at each regular meeting. From the photostat department there has been also a constant and valuable addition of reproductions of manuscripts, of rare and unique titles, of newspapers, and of other material, from distant owners, libraries, and archives, the originals of

which it would be impossible ever to obtain. Several members have generously responded to the appeal for gifts of their works, as well as of other historical material which should be on our shelves. Other members can join in this good work, and have the satisfaction of contributing to the substantial growth of a stronger collection for historical research.

The congestion in the arrangement of the Library, often called to your attention, has been partly relieved during the past year by the removal of the less used portion to the new steel shelves installed in the basement rooms, and the expansion of the works, in the room above, on history and biography, leaving here and there a small space for additions. But elsewhere in the Library the overcrowding is becoming increasingly troublesome. The present scattered arrangement of our possessions is at least not economical in the use of energy and time.

The imperative need of the Library is still for more shelf-room to give adequate spaces in the arrangement and housing of the Society's growing collections. This condition must appeal to Members of the Society for some action soon. Apology is offered for the present unsatisfactory appearance of the overcrowded parts of the Library. The Society should be in a position to offer an attractive and safe depository for manuscript and printed material, where there will be ample and safe-guarded room for it. A new fireproof stack large enough for at least a half-century's growth would happily offer a good inducement to owners of such papers to give them or to avail themselves of the space to make deposits. Could a beginning be made by using the present amount of the building fund? A suitable cement foundation for the whole proposed addition could be made, and perhaps the walls and roof of the proposed addition could be built. As gifts to the fund are received, the first tier of the stack could be installed, and so begin the relief to our congestion.

The work of the bindery has been largely devoted to the arrangement and preparation for binding of the Davis and Shattuck papers. The index of the Shattuck papers has now reached the ninth volume, and is continuing as fast as possible. This department gave valuable assistance in making

the exhibition of last year a success. Other incidental work, such as cleaning and mounting papers, repairing volumes, making covers for pamphlets and newspapers, has been of invaluable service, and the bindery proves itself to be an important asset.

The past year has been one of more than usual activity on the part of the library staff, who have given their devoted attention to the wishes of members and of others who have sought the use of the Society's valuable resources. At the same time they have given their earnest efforts in keeping the collections accessible under the present conditions. Prompt and efficient help has been given in research work to persons coming from various parts of the United States and Canada, some of whom were preparing theses for doctor's degrees, and found among our papers what they needed to complete their studies.

The steady growth of the Library and the increasing demands upon its resources will make the question of maintaining its high efficiency one of the first importance. The measure of such efficiency is a perfect catalogue of the Society's possessions, kept up to date. While much is done toward this end by one person on the staff, more can be done if the Society could see its way to add a second worker for the purpose.

JULIUS H. TUTTLE,
Librarian.

REPORT OF THE CABINET-KEEPER.

The additions to the Cabinet have been fully reported at each meeting of the Society, and it is necessary only to refer to the monthly records, in place of making a complete list here.

Dr. Storer, Curator of Coins and Medals, reports that during the past year the coin collection has shown a healthy increase, the total additions numbering 1,201, of which 39 were of Massachusetts.

Of these accessions, a large number were ancient coins, well rounding out the collection of Greek and Roman coins given us by Mr. Henry Adams.

There are now in our collection 1,965 pieces relating to Massachusetts, far more than have ever before been brought together in any one collection.

GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS,
Cabinet-Keeper.

Dr. LEFAVOUR read the

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY AND CABINET.

The Committee appointed to examine the property of the Society in charge of the Librarian and the Cabinet-Keeper respectfully reports that it has attended to that duty, having met at the House of the Society on Monday, March twenty-ninth, and, in company with the Librarian, the Cabinet-Keeper, and the Curator of the Coin Collection, visited all the rooms devoted to the storage of the collections of the Society.

The Committee was deeply impressed by the great value of our possessions and can foresee that they must be of an ever increasing service to the students of American history. Each year the books that are purchased and the gifts that are committed to our care will call for additional space, yet today our books and manuscripts are distributed in various rooms throughout the building, and many books are in piles on the floor of the basement and have neither the accessibility nor the care they deserve. The key to the location of books and manuscripts at present must lie in the memory of the Librarian and his assistant, but no library can be considered properly arranged or give the maximum service unless it has been subject to such a classification and shelving that its contents are accessible to any intelligent person. With our present facilities this is impossible, and the confusion must increase each year. The valuable collection of coins is admirably arranged, but the space allotted to it is inadequate. The pictures and historical objects in charge of the Cabinet-Keeper may be said to be for the most part simply in storage, and their present usefulness is in abeyance.

The Committee can only reënforce the opinion expressed by the corresponding committees of previous years that the

only satisfactory solution lies in the construction of an annex that would provide the space for a suitable stack, and the Committee respectfully urges the Council to consider the possibility of making an effort to bring the building fund up to the amount needed for constructing at least the walls and roof of such an annex, even if it is necessary to look to future years for the means of building the stack and galleries. The only alternative would be to extend the gallery of the main library room around the four sides with alcoves beneath, provided the floor would bear the additional weight or could readily be strengthened for that purpose. This, however, would be only a palliative and the construction would become useless if a stack should finally be provided. It would merit consideration only if it were thought that the annex could not be built for several years.

The Committee desires to express its appreciation of the patient courtesy extended to them by the officers of the Society who accompanied them.

HENRY LEFAVOUR, *Chairman*
CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM
LAWRENCE S. MAYO

The Committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year made a report upon which a ballot was taken.

The officers are as follows:

President.

GEORGE FOOT MOORE.

Vice-Presidents.

WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD ENDICOTT.
CHARLES HOMER HASKINS.

Recording Secretary.

HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM.

Corresponding Secretary.

ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN.

Treasurer.

ALLAN FORBES.

Librarian.

JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE.

Cabinet-Keeper.

GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS.

Editor.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

Members-at-Large of the Council.

HAROLD MURDOCK.
WILLIAM CAMERON FORBES.
FRED NORRIS ROBINSON.
FREDERIC WINTHROP.
SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON.

Prof. Tozzer read a paper on

Chronological Aspects of American Archæology

For many decades the study of American Archæology was in a very nebulous state characterized, in many cases, by inaccurate observation, bold assumptions, and a general ignorance of the more scientific approach to the subject. These defects have, in great part, been remedied by a wider vision, a more careful training of investigators, more accurate observation, and a gradual tendency to place archæology among the more exact sciences.

American Archæology has also suffered a certain stigma for its failure to produce a literature as its hand-maiden with an accompanying chronology to give a certain vigor to its findings. It must be admitted that archæological data have an inert quality, a certain spinelessness when unaccompanied by a more or less definite chronological background. The psychologists may be able to tell us why we must have dates

accompanying objects of antiquity to make them seem interesting and of value, whether these objects consist of furniture, a piece of pewter, or specimens coming from the graves of our early inhabitants. This paper is an attempt to give American Archæology an internal skeleton and thus to raise it to the status of a vertebrate.

It should be pointed out at once that the classification and nomenclature applied to European archæology cannot be used for the New World. This is not due to the scarcity of the data but to the fact that there are no metal ages in America. Iron was unknown as a metal before the advent of the white man [1] and the smelting of copper was not practised except in certain regions on the western coast of South America, Central America and parts of Mexico. Bronze, the resultant of a deliberate attempt at mixing copper and tin, was even less widely distributed.

There are two aspects of chronology the first of which is a relative one, self-contained, and dissociated with any larger aspect of time-relation. In northern New England and the maritime provinces of Canada as well as in other parts of the eastern United States, there are well-defined evidences of an earlier and a later pre-Columbian occupation, but there are at present no means of bringing these different cultures into the general background of history.

The second variety of chronology and the one that has far more interest for us here has to do with definite epochs correlated with our own time-system, pre-historic passing over to the historic.

In the study of archæology as a whole there are four elements of control; geology, palæontology, stratigraphy, and the development of types from cruder to more developed forms. Geology and palæontology may be disregarded here as the question of primitive man in America, in the real sense of "first," does not concern us. No attempt will be made to prove or disprove the much-discussed question of the presence of man in the New World in geologically ancient times.

Stratification is of the utmost importance as showing successive occupation of the same site, each stratum indicating a more or less distinct culture allied with a time-element.

[1] The Eskimo made some use of meteoric iron.

In the Southwest, Dr. Kidder and Mr. Guernsey of the Peabody Museum have found four different levels of culture.[2] On the original floor of caves has been found the evidence of a people called "The Basket Makers" who were without pottery but were expert in the making of woven objects, textiles, baskets, and sandals. They were at the very horizon of agriculture with only one variety of corn. Above this there are data indicating two cultures differing slightly from each other with a first knowledge of pottery-making, this art developing rapidly. There are also included several varieties of corn indicating a more varied agricultural life. Finally there comes the top-most stratum, commonly called "Pueblo," with pottery and several of the other arts finely developed together with an abundant agriculture, developed under very adverse conditions. Until a few years ago, the Cliff-dwellers and other Pueblo peoples belonging to the last epoch, were the only early inhabitants recognized in this region. More intensive research has thus added three new elements in the archæology of the Southwest.

Stratification has also come to our assistance in Mexico.[3] Four and five meters below the present floor of the Valley of Mexico and in some cases under many feet of volcanic deposits there has come to light the so-called Archaic culture, characterized by crude clay figurines and several types of pottery. Most botanists interested in the question of the beginning of agriculture in America are now agreed that a grass, called *Teocentli,* found wild on the highlands of Mexico, is probably the progenitor of cultivated maize which the first American colonists found, on their advent, over the greater part of the New World. It is probable that the Archaic peoples were responsible for the artificial cultivation of this grass, the invention of agriculture, and also for the dissemination of this new industry over the arid portions of

[2] Guernsey, S. J. and Kidder, A. V., Basket-maker caves in northeastern Arizona: *Papers of the Peabody Museum,* Cambridge, VIII. No. 2, 1921, and Kidder and Guernsey, Archaeological explorations in northeastern Arizona: *Bulletin 65, Bureau of American Ethnology,* Washington, 1919.

[3] Tozzer, A. M., The domain of the Aztecs and their relation to the prehistoric cultures of Mexico: *Holmes Anniversary Volume,* Washington, 1916. Spinden, H. J., Ancient civilizations of Mexico and Central America: *American Museum of Natural History,* (2d. ed.), New York, 1922.

Mexico and Central America.[4] Figurines characteristic of the Archaic culture are found in many places as far south as Nicaragua and Costa Rica with modified types stretching into South America.

Returning to the Valley of Mexico, above the Archaic horizon is found the Toltec culture, the greatest of all Mexican civilizations, and over this and only for a few inches on the surface appear the evidences of the Aztecs. As will be shown later, the Aztec and Toltec periods can be definitely dated. Stratification also gives definite results on the succession of cultures in Peru, showing that of the Inca as a very late product.

The second chronological approach to the study of archæology is the investigation of the development of stylistic methods of decoration, mainly on pottery, of architecture, and of other products of man's activities. By an intensive study of the different ceramic wares of the Pueblo culture and after taking into account the various data available a definite sequence of pottery types and of decoration has been established from pre-Columbian down to modern times.[5]

When successive forms of the artistic impulse are found in connection with definite strata there is abundant proof of a time sequence as the basis of this development. When, as in the Maya area, various changes in architecture and in design go hand in hand with datable monuments, there is a solid foundation for history.

Another approach to this chronological study is the migration of objects far from their original place of manufacture, trade pieces, foreign to their present habitat but easily recognized as coming from afar. Red coral, for example, from the Mediterranean is found in graves of the early Iron Age in England. Dated Egyptian scarabs, found in Crete, were a great factor in establishing the entire chronology of the Aegean culture. The close association of objects in the same deposit prove that they are, in a sense, contemporaneous.

[4] Spinden, H. J., The origin and spread of agriculture in America: *Proceedings of the 19th. International Congress of Americanists*, Washington, 1917.

[5] Kidder, A. V., An introduction to the study of Southwestern Archaeology with a preliminary account of the excavations at Pecos; New Haven, 1924.

This does not necessarily mean that they were made at the same time but that they were deposited at the same time. Heirloom pieces of carved jade, dating back several centuries, have been dredged from a great natural well in Yucatan. These are not later than the objects with which they are associated but, as a matter of fact, they are very much earlier than most of the associated remains. If sherds of a jar with a very special type of plaster cloisonné decoration are found in Pueblo Bonito in northern New Mexico and the home of this type of technique is in the Toltec culture in the Valley of Mexico, and, furthermore, if this same pottery is found in a late period of a site in northern Yucatan, there is every reason to suppose that a contemporaneous feature can be assumed here. Movements in the other direction from the Maya region to the northward is shown by one of the finest of Maya jade ornaments found at San Juan Teotihuacan. This probably originated in the southern part of the Maya area as it is carved in the best Old Empire style, travelling from Guatemala to northern Yucatan and thence to Mexico during the Toltec period of Yucatan. Gold figurines, definitely made in Colombia, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica and found in late Maya deposits, again help in the elucidation of a relative chronology. No metal objects of any kind have ever been found in the early Maya sites so that it seems quite clear that the knowledge of metallurgy came from the south at a comparatively late period.

These stray pieces also show the great importance of trade relations in early times, stretching in this case from Colombia in the south to northern New Mexico in the north, a distance of about thirty degrees of latitude or about three thousand miles.

The factors of stratification, stylistic development, and the association of objects from widely separated areas are all useful in establishing a relative chronology of a site or a series of sites but it is only by means of dated monuments correlated with Christian chronology that we arrive on satisfactory historical ground. The Maya area in southern Mexico and northern Central America presents evidence of an elaborate calendar as shown in the hieroglyphic inscriptions, the most remarkable achievement of the intellect in

the New World. It is in these inscriptions that a literature is provided American Archæology.

The material for the study of the hieroglyphic writing includes stone inscriptions carved on stelæ and altars set up in front of the various temples, on the door-lintels of buildings, a few painted inscriptions, three codices dating back to pre-Columbian times, and the so-called Books of Chilam Balam, manuscripts written in the Maya language but with Spanish characters. These are in many cases copies of original documents reduced to writing after the advent of the Spaniards.[6]

There were two steps necessary in the elucidation of the Maya calendar as shown in the hieroglyphic inscriptions, the first of which was the determination of the calendar giving a relative chronology, the position of the different monuments in a inclusive series within the Maya area. This succession is definitely correlated with the stylistic development of stone carving and of architecture. We are thus certain of the historical development of the Maya civilization.[7]

The second step was a correlation between the Maya and Christian chronology. In both these fields the late Charles P. Bowditch, long a member of this Society, played a very large part. From his pioneer work, so admirable and so necessary, advances have been made in this study by several others, among them being Mr. S. G. Morley of the Carnegie Institution, and Dr. H. J. Spinden of the Peabody Museum. The latter has shown conclusively that the Maya calendar began to function in 613 B.C.[8] The earliest dated inscription is on a small jade statuette of 96 B.C. The oldest Maya remains are found in the district of Petén in northern Guate-

[6] Tozzer, A. M., The Chilam Balam Books and the possibility of their translation: *Proceedings of the 19th International Congress of Americanists,* Washington, 1915. Also, Tozzer, A Maya Grammar: *Papers of the Peabody Museum,* Cambridge, IX. 182–192, 1921.

[7] Spinden, H. J., A Study of Maya Art: *Memoirs of the Peabody Museum,* VI. Cambridge, 1913.

[8] Bowditch, C. P., The numeration, Calendar systems and astronomical knowledge of the Mayas, Cambridge, 1910. Also by same author, On the age of the Maya ruins: *American Anthropologist, (n. s.),* III. 697–700. Morley, S. G., The inscriptions at Copan: *Carnegie Institution of Washington,* Washington, 1920, especially Appendix II. See also Morley's Bibliography in this volume. Spinden, H. J., The reduction of Mayan dates: *Papers of the Peabody Museum,* VI. No 4, Cambridge, 1924, and other writings.

mala. The great cities of this area flourished from about the beginning of the Christian Era until about 650 A.D. In the first half of the seventh century the southern cities seem to have been abandoned as no late dates appear there and a movement was made to the northward. Northern Yucatan was first populated about 450 A.D. and remained a center about two hundred years. The ancient chronicles in the Chilam Balam Books state that there was a period of abandonment of the northern part of this country from 630 to 960 A.D. when the sites in southern Yucatan were built. A great period of expansion in the north took place from 960 to about 1200 during which time a league of cities was formed. The most interesting period began about 1200 when foreigners entered the country. These were the Toltecs from Mexico under the leadership of Quetzalcoatl.

This figure was for a long time considered to have been purely mythological, dimly related to certain historical events, but, as is common in all culture-heroes, a vague and nebulous individual. Dr. Spinden has lately shown that Quetzalcoatl, far from being a myth, was a very real person — one of the great characters of history, "a warrior, a priest, an administrator, and a scientist." He served as leader of a force of Mexicans who put down a rebellion of the Mayas in 1191, subduing Chichen-Itza and making it a Toltec city. It was he who created much of the pomp and ceremony later used by the Aztec rulers and described with such vividness by the Spaniards.

The Toltecs brought with them a new religion and new art forms and the period from 1191 to 1450, when Mayapan fell and the Maya civilization practically ceased to exist, was marked, especially at Chichen-Itza, by a very strong Mexican influence. This city has the longest *recorded* history of any in the New World, ancient or modern, of over eight hundred years.

The arrival of the Toltecs in Yucatan with definite dates on the Maya side enables us to supply them with a definite historical background, thus supplanting their mythological dates of origins and of migrations. The great empire of the Toltecs centering at San Juan Teotihuacan, thirty miles north of the present Mexico City, dates from about 1000 A.D. to

1200 A.D. Lesser sites in the Valley of Mexico continued to be occupied by these people until the coming of the Spaniards. The Toltecs had in their early days been strongly influenced by the early Maya culture in Guatemala which reached them from the south and west as shown by Maya details occurring at Monte Alban and Xochicalco. There was also a migration of Maya features northward along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, reaching through the Totonacan area. The calendar of the Toltecs and later of the Aztecs undoubtedly was derived from that of the Mayas. The great expansion of the Toltec empire included practically all of the non-Maya peoples of central and southern Mexico, Guatemala, and as far south as Nicaragua and Costa Rica. Thus the Toltecs, receiving the seeds of culture and the calendar from the early and southern Mayas, later played a large part in shaping the destinies of the northern Mayas in the last period of their history.

The Aztecs who receive most of the credit in the popular mind for the achievements in cultural lines in Mexico were very late arrivals on the scene. They did not reach the shores of the lake on an island of which they were later to build their capital until 1325. They came as a wild hunting tribe from the north, remaining undisturbed until 1351 when they suffered defeat and enslavement at the hands of the Toltecs. Their period of expansion and preëminence did not begin until 1376 and even in 1519 under Montezuma they held only a fraction of the territory that was included in the Toltec empire in 1200. Every feature of their life was borrowed from the Toltecs and several of the Toltec cities in the Valley of Mexico never were completely subjugated by the Aztecs.

There are several dark spots in the picture I have tried to draw. We do not know what led the Mayas to abandon their great cities in the south and move northward. The exhaustion of cultivatable land may have been one of the reasons. We are also ignorant as to the events which led up to the fall of this civilization about 1450. Civil war, the injurious effects of the presence of foreigners, and, in all probability, epidemics of yellow fever were all possibly contributory.

The darkest spot, however, is our ignorance of the beginnings of the Maya peoples. It is certain that those responsible for this civilization were American natives and that their development is not due to any influence outside the New World. The impossibility that such a culture could grow up *in situ,* as it were, is always brought forward by those who think they see superficial similarities between the Mayas and certain Mongolian peoples. The calendar alone which no one has tried to prove originated outside of America shows the mental equipment of the Mayas, the presence of genius in their midst. A few naturally gifted individuals, a knowledge of agriculture, and a good environment are probably alone responsible for the beginnings of the Maya civilization.

It will be remembered that the Archaic peoples were probably at the horizon of agriculture and our next step must be to find a connection between them and the Mayas. There have never been found undisturbed contacts between these two peoples. This may be due to the comparatively small amount of actual excavation which has been undertaken in the older Maya sites. Archaic figurines appear in the Ulloa Valley in Honduras but they have been washed down from river-bank deposits and have seldom been found in their original positions. This is within the Maya area and there ought to be some possibility here of finding the two cultures, the Maya superimposed on the Archaic. Dr. S. K. Lothrop of the Heye Museum and Dr. Manuel Gamio have lately reported the presence of Archaic remains in Salvador and on the highlands of Guatemala and these discoveries may settle this question of contact which is pressing for an answer. There must, necessarily, have been long centuries of slow beginnings and small achievements by the early Maya before they burst upon the world about the beginning of the Christian Era with a highly developed civilization, characterized by great cities, an elaborate art and architecture, a highly organized theocracy, a remarkable astronomical knowledge, and a calendar system which was in actual operation for over 1900 years until it was destroyed by the Spaniards. Marginal corrections were applied to take care of the variation on the Maya year and of the true solar year, a means

more accurate than our method of interpolating days. It should be pointed out that it was not until 1582 that the Julian day was invented, which corresponded to the Maya day count, 2000 years after the same principle had been adopted by the Mayas.

With the definite chronology thus established and its day-for-day correlation with the Mexican cultures, there is every reason to hope that with the study of the migrations of objects and stylistic contacts there will come a time when the sequences of cultures in our own Southwest and also those of the great civilizations of South America will be attached to the historical fabric.

Finally, as the result of modern research, a certain readjustment of values comes out clearly: — the small contribution made by the Aztecs to the ancient cultures of Mexico, the large part played by the Toltecs with their far-reaching empire, and the far greater primary impetus and development of a great civilization with astronomical knowledge and a calendar by the Mayas who handed all this on to the other peoples of Middle America.

If there are included in our history the present inhabitants of Yucatan and the Lacandones of Guatemala, also a Maya people, who still carry out many of the pre-Columbian religious practices,[9] a definite historical background has been supplied to American Archæology, starting in the sixth century before Christ and extending in an unbroken series for over 2500 years.

Capt. T. G. FROTHINGHAM read a paper on

THE SIEGE OF BOSTON.

At this one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the evacuation of Boston, it is timely that we should consider the results of the Siege of Boston from a modern point of view. In fact, if we desire to form a true estimate of its military events, we must look at these events in the light of the advances in military science since the days of 1776. The

[9] Tozzer, A. M., *A comparative study of the Mayas and the Lacandones*, New York, 1907.

1775.

BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL.

Friday, June 16, 1775, orders were issued to the American troops for Prescott's, Frye's, and Bridge's regiments, with Capt Gridley's company of artillery, to parade with intrenching tools on Cambridge Common, at 6 o'clock, P. M. There were about 1,200 men, and they were placed under the command of Col. Wm. Prescott of Pepperell, with Col. Richard Gridley as chief engineer. They were ordered to Charlestown and to fortify Bunker Hill. They left about 9 o'clo k, P. M. Considerable discussion took place after they arrived as to which hill to select. Bunker or Breed's Hill, but it was finally decided to fortify the latter, where the monument now stands. About midnight the troops began to intrench, and finished about 10 o'clock, A. M., June 17th, having thrown up a redoubt eight rods square, and a breastwork on line of the eastern side, one hundred yards to the north; both were raised some six feet from the ground.

The works were first seen, at early dawn, by the British on board the men-of-war "Lively," anchored to Charles River between Charlestown and Boston, and were fired upon at once. Gen. Gage, who commanded the British troops stationed in Boston, called a council of war and ordered the various regiments to parade at 12 o'clock, A. M., and be ready to embark when ordered. The British landed at Moulton's Point about 1 o'clock, P. M. Gen. Howe immediately formed them into three lines and waited for reinforcements from Boston, which arrived about 3 o'clock, P. M., landing at Mardlin's shipyard, near the present entrance to the Navy Yard. The British troops numbered about 2,000. The right wing was under the command of Gen. Howe, the left under the command of Gen. Pigot. The British made movements along the shore of Mystic River Col. Prescott then ordered the artillery, with the unexperienced troops, to reserve their fire and oppose them. Joined by re inforcements, they then took position at the base of Bunker Hill behind a fence nearly parallel to Main Street, and running through the present burial grounds.

About 3½ o'clock the British made the first assault. Gen. Pigot's division was to storm the redoubt and breastwork, and Gen. Howe was to attack the fence and cut off the retreat of the Americans. The Americans at both places waited as ordered until "they could see the whites of the enemy's eyes" before they fired, which told effectively on the British ranks that both Howe and Pigot ordered a retreat, after a weak attempt to return the fire. Gen. Howe immediately ordered a second assault in the same manner as the first, and the British were again obliged to give way with terrible loss before the well-directed fire of the Americans.

At this point of the battle Charlestown was set on fire by the British. It was some time before the third assault was attempted; meanwhile both sides were reinforced. The powder of the Americans was nearly exhausted; a few artillery cartridges constituted the whole stock on hand, this was distributed. The British, in the third attack, having pushed their artillery forward so as to rake the breastwork, drove the Americans into the redoubt. Advancing they met a deadly fire, but continuing to advance the American fire soon slackened for want of powder. The British scaled the sides of the redoubt, and then came a short hand to hand contest. Prescott was forced to order a retreat amid great confusion. In this fight Gen. Warren, who served as a private throughout the battle, was killed. The British pursued as far as the Neck. About 5 o'clock, P. M., they took possession of the hill that had protected them on the 17th of April.

The American loss, according to good authority, was 19t killed 271 wounded, and 30 captured. The British loss, according to an official account, was 226 killed, 828 wounded.

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A complete Guide to Strangers, representin

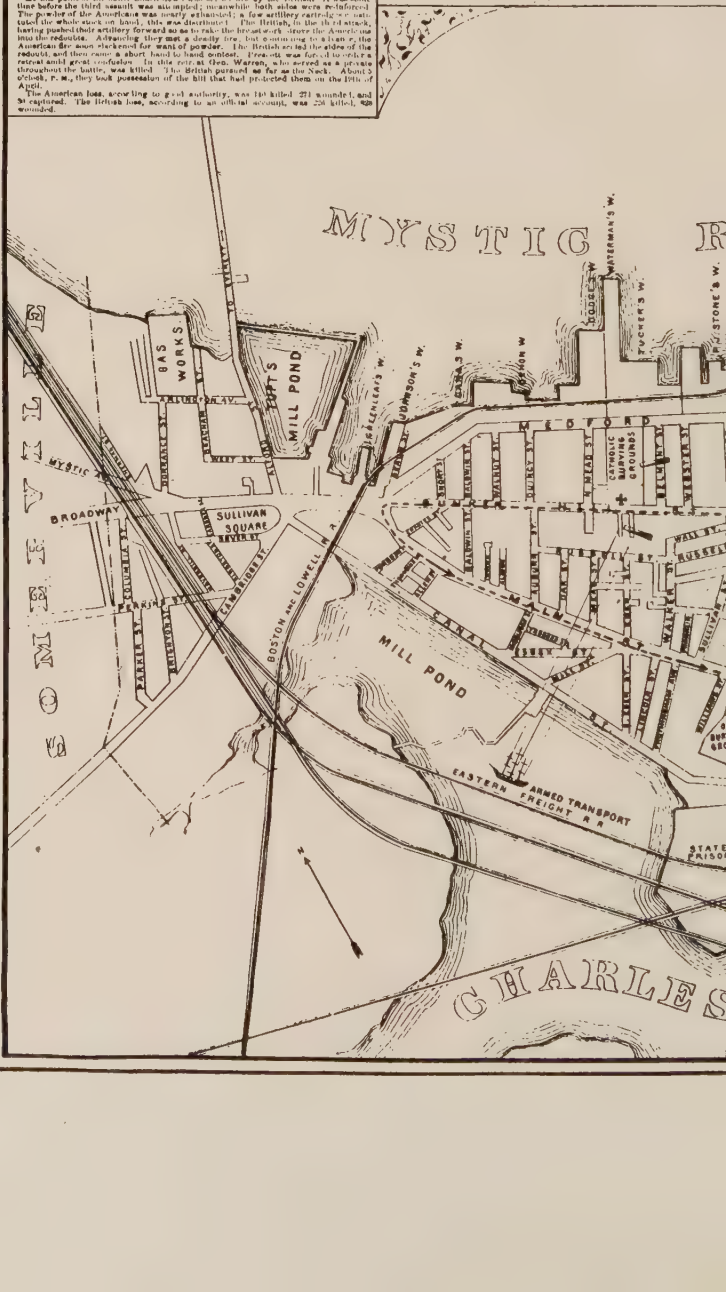
THE BATTL

Showing the several positions of the Am
and of Vessels of War

The ROUTE of the PROCESSION fo

Drawn by JAMES E. STONE,
CHARLESTOWN.

Route of the
American Forc
British Forces



MAP

ESTOWN

it is to-day, in combination with a Plan of

KER HILL,

Forces; the location of Fortifications

and giving also

NIAL CELEBRATION, June 17th 1875.

thus

Published by L. PRANG & Co.
"PRANG'S AMERICAN CHROMOS."
BOSTON.

1875.

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION.

CITY PROCESSION.

GEN. FRANCIS A. OSBORNE, CHIEF MARSHAL.

(See map for route.)

Massachusetts Volunteer Militia, about 6,000 men, exclusive of bands of music, under command of Gen. B. F. Butler. To this number there will be added visiting military organizations, which will swell the number to 12,000.

Some of the principal Veteran Associations will be in the procession, namely, the Ancient and Honorable Artillery of Boston, Newport Artillery Veteran Association of Newport, R. I., Newburyport Veteran Artillery Association, Old Guards of New York, Putnam Phalanx, Amoskeag Veterans of Manchester, N. H., and several other Veteran Associations. All the above will be under command of Major Dexter B. Follett.

VISITING MILITARY.

New York Seventh Regiment; Fifth Maryland, Baltimore, Md.; Washington Light Infantry, Washington, D. C.; Norfolk Light Artillery Blues, Norfolk, Va.; First Regiment National Guards, Philadelphia, Pa.; Washington Light Infantry, Charleston, S. C.; Lexington Minute Men; Mechanic Blues, Portland, Me.; Meagher Guards, Providence, R. I.; besides various military organizations from other places in this and several other States.

The Civil part of the procession will contain the Governor and staff, other State officials, members of the last Senate and House of Representatives, members of Congress, Governors of several States, Foreign Ministers, in fifty carriages. Boston City Government and guests in fifty carriages.

The Civil Associations and Societies will be represented by the following: Mass. Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons; Mass. Charitable Mechanics' Association, Boston; Mass. Catholic Total Abstinence Union, Boston.

The various trades will be represented in the line of the procession.

The Charlestown Antique Association will parade at 8 o'clock, A. M., on that day, under command of Major Geo. H. Barker.

There will be an oration on the Monument grounds during the afternoon, before the Bunker Hill Monument Association, Gen. Patrick, orator.

During the evening there will be general illuminations and band concerts in Chelsea and Winthrop Squares.

Balloon ascension from Boston Common during the afternoon.

history of the siege has too often been told in the terms of the usual military operations of those days. They do not give an adequate description, as things happened which were so far ahead of the times, that the formulas of contemporary European military doctrines could not be applied to their unconventional methods of warfare.

Formula is the one right word to use in describing any doctrine of European warfare in the last half of the eighteenth century, because European military science had then become formal and artificial to an extreme. At that time all fighting was being done by the regular armies — and all according to rigidly fixed rules. The very idea that the people of a country would be able to do any fighting against a regular army was a heresy, so far outside the military calculations of the times that it was held to be impossible. It is only by fully realizing these prevailing European military beliefs, that we can understand the reason for the sudden and complete decisiveness of the British defeat of April 19, 1775.

On April 18 General Gage had been a Royal Governor, with military and naval forces to enforce his control. In twenty-four hours this was ended forever, and General Gage had been reduced to the position of being merely the commander of a British army hemmed into Boston. Outside of Boston he had no more authority, and no more hope of assistance, than if there had not been a Loyalist in the Colony.

This was an astonishing overturn, and yet it had not been brought about by a destructive defeat that inflicted crippling military losses. On the contrary, in the Lexington and Concord Fight the Colonists had not killed or wounded any great numbers of British troops. As you know, on the part of the Americans, this running fight was an unorganized scramble of different companies, with the Americans fighting almost each man for himself. Of the many groups gathered from different towns, there was never at any one time a large force imposed upon the British. Consequently, it was not the proportion of actual losses, but it was the way the whole thing was done, that demoralized the British Regulars. They had met something so utterly outside their ken that they were dazed.

The conduct of the British on that day, and throughout the ensuing War of the Revolution, showed beyond question

that they had not learned any lesson from the "French Wars." For the Americans, from Washington down through the personnel of the Continental Army, the knowledge derived from fighting the French and Indians was of great value. Many of the Americans had learned from bitter experience the tactics which would be effective against the British. On the other hand, Montcalm's error in fighting the formal battle on the Plains of Abraham summed up the whole French and Indian War for the British Army — a triumph for the Regulars! As a result, it was not the professional British Regular who was prepared for the War of the Revolution — it was the Colonist who was prepared. This was always in evidence whenever the warfare was carried out into the open country, as in the first over-confident British expedition to Concord.

The fact of the case was, the irregular warfare which the British encountered on April 19 could only be classed as a forecast of modern open order fighting. For this reason, the retreat from Concord became a test which at once proved that the British Regulars, drilled in the formal battle tactics of Frederic the Great, were pathetically helpless in the open country against the tactics of the Americans. To the British mind, this one experience was so convincing that no other test was attempted. Never again did the Regulars venture out into the open country around Boston. But even this fact does not tell how absolutely the British had accepted the one object lesson as final. The motley forces of Americans, which were gathered about Boston so soon after the "Lexington Alarm," were at first not only ill organized but also lacking in supplies, ammunition, and artillery. Yet no efforts were made by the British to push back the Americans from the positions they had occupied so close to Boston, many of which were only thinly manned.

Thus Gage not only conceded that he was to be cut off from the surrounding country, but he also permitted himself to be hemmed in closely. Gage's quick and complete acquiescence in this shut-in situation was strikingly shown by the fact that, as early as April 22, he was negotiating with a Town Meeting in Boston as to passing people in and out of Boston. Consequently, we must regard the events of April 19,

1775, as decisive in the modern military sense of the word, and as changing the whole situation in New England.

The results of April 19 also exerted a marked effect in Great Britain. The Americans had been far seeing in taking precautions that the truth as to this situation should be known to the British people. The Provincial Congress had met in Concord April 22, and had appointed a committee to take depositions as to the events of April 19 in Lexington and Concord. These affidavits, and a letter, "To the Inhabitants of Great Britain,"[1] were given to Captain Derby of Salem on April 27, with instructions to transmit them to London as soon as possible. They were sent in the fast sailing *Quero* of Salem, and arrived in London May 29, eleven days before Gage's account of the action. Arthur Lee, the agent of the Provincial Congress in London, at once had the letter published, and announced: "I desire to inform all those who wish to see the original affidavits which confirm that account, that they are deposited at the Mansion House, with the right honorable the Lord Mayor, for their inspection." By this means, not only were the facts as to the British reverse known in Great Britain, but also in Parliament the opponents of the Ministerial American policies were given a true basis for their opposition — and this was a factor of increasing importance for the Americans throughout the Revolution.

The only other real fight of the siege was also another case of the European formal tactics of the day meeting tactics which were far ahead of the times. The occupation of the Charlestown heights on the night of June 16, 1775, was foolhardy on the part of the Americans in every way. In the confusion among the groups from different colonies, which made up the besieging force, there were no plans for the support of the detachment sent to Charlestown, which must be regarded in a military sense as an isolated force. It had no heavy artillery, only six small field pieces which proved of little use. It was ill supplied in every way, and especially short of ammunition. If the British had taken advantage of the flood tide, in the morning of June 17, to move heavy guns on their shipping into the Mystic River, the position of the Americans would have become impossible.

[1] Composed by Dr. Warren, Mr. Freeman, Mr. Gardner, and Col. Stone.

Instead of anything of the kind, General Gage decided to make a frontal attack upon the intrenched Americans. The reason for this costly error, on the part of the British, is to be found in what has been stated as to the effect of the Lexington and Concord Fight. The British were exasperated at being driven to shelter and cooped up by tactics which did not offer a set battle. Consequently, they welcomed the opportunity to attack the Americans, who were this time in a fixed position. To the minds of the British, this condition meant a battle that would be fought in their own way. They had no idea that they were destined to encounter another situation as novel and disconcerting as that of April 19.

On any European battlefield of the times this frontal attack of the British, with their superiority in numbers, would have been an easy charge — and the British had no suspicions of any other result. But two elements made the Americans unexpectedly formidable. In the first place, although they were not marksmen of the Leatherstocking type, these Colonists were used to handling firearms and shooting to kill. In addition, they were commanded by a remarkable group of officers, who had experience gained in the "French Wars," and knew how to control their men, in order to get the best results against the tactics of the British Regulars. Consequently, the British were about to attack what was actually, in the modern sense of the word, an intrenchment defended by weapons of precision.

At this time no such thing had ever been encountered on a European battlefield. Precision in drilling and executing all movements had been rigidly taught — but precision in shooting had received no attention. The strict game laws of Europe had kept firearms out of the hands of the common people. It followed that the recruit was given a strange instrument, to handle in the series of movements of a manual that actually did not include aiming at any particular object. As a result, musketry fire had not been deadly, in the modern sense, on European battlefields.[2]

[2] British *Manual Exercise of the Foot:*

V. PRESENT. I. MOTION.

In presenting, take away your thumb from the Cock, and move your right Foot a little back, the Toe turned a little to the Right, the Body to the Front, and place the Butt-end in the Hollow betwixt your Breast and Shoulder, keeping your Fore-finger before the Tricker (but without

When we realize these contrasting conditions, which unquestionably were the controlling military factors at the Battle of Bunker Hill, it is evident that something happened quite outside the ordinary course. In fact, when the wide ranks of British Regulars marched stiffly forward, through the hayfields on that hot June day, firing unaimed and ineffective volleys as they advanced, there was in reality the old order arrayed against the new which was destined to supersede it.[3]

The resultant awful slaughter of the British troops made so strong an impression that its influence can be traced throughout the rest of the war. After regretting the losses of June 17, General Gage wrote: "The trials we have had show the rebels are not the despicable rabble too many have supposed them to be." This expressed something that remained in the minds of the British, as ever afterwards the moral effect of the great losses at Bunker Hill was a potent help for the Americans.

The arrival of General Washington, who took command on July 3, 1775, was the beginning of a real military organization for the army. Before this the groups of the various colonies had been practically independent forces. With a strong central command, there was soon a great change for the better in discipline, but so weak was the American army in ammunition and artillery that it was many months before Washington could undertake any serious operation against the British in Boston.

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touching it) and the other three behind the Guard, the Elbows in an equal Line (which is called Square) the Head upright, the Body strait, only pressed a little forward against the Butt-end of the Firelock, the right Knee stiff, and the left a little bending: The Muzzle should be a little lower than the Butt, in order to take Aim at the Center of the Body.

VI. FIRE

As soon as the Word of Command is given, draw the Tricker briskly with the Fore-finger which was placed on it before; and though the Cock should not go down with that Pull, you are not to attempt it a second Time, being only to draw the Tricker but once at Exercise.

It will be evident that "aim" was only attained by the position of the firelocks with "the muzzle a little lower than the butt," and the instruction for "the head upright" precluded any real sighting along the barrel.

[3] Of course the bodies of the Americans in the earthworks were protected. But the long line of the rail fence, against which Howe himself led the attack, consisted only of open rails stuffed with hay. Here there might have been heavy American losses, if there had been any real accuracy of fire on the part of the British — "but their balls passed over the heads of the Americans."

Washington soon showed great energy in fitting out small armed vessels to prey on the enemy's shipping, which was the means of supply for the British army shut up in Boston. There was not yet any authority for a regular navy, but, with the coöperation of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, Washington created a little fleet of his own. He adopted the novel expedient at the beginning of giving Army commissions to the captains and taking the first crews from Glover's Marblehead regiment, which was made up of seafaring men from Essex county. The best known of these ship captains was John Manley of Marblehead, who was made Commodore of this fleet by Washington on January 1, 1776. These little vessels were very successful in bringing in prizes laden with supplies intended for the British in Boston. Over thirty were thus taken, the most notable of which was the brigantine *Nancy,* with a great quantity of ordnance on board — and this was a boon to the scantily supplied Americans. In contrast to this resourcefulness of Washington, the British showed little energy in protecting their supply ships by means of their naval forces. They thus allowed a weaker enemy to commit depredations which caused actual hardship to the British garrison of Boston.

On land, the British also showed an apathy which was hard to understand. Gage's successor, General Howe, allowed Washington to fortify successive positions nearer Boston without any show of opposition. At the time it was believed that Howe knew the desperate condition of the Americans as to powder, and that he would attack. It was also thought that he would occupy Dorchester Heights. But nothing of the kind happened, although Howe was reinforced until, at the time of the evacuation, he had 11,000 effectives in his army and fleet. The British remained on Bunker Hill, which had been strongly fortified. But one lesson of the Battle of Bunker Hill had not been learned, and the other heights which commanded Boston were not occupied by the British. Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne, were then showing the incapacity which remained in evidence throughout their services in the Revolution.

Thus the winter passed, with the British inactive and the eager Washington too weak in ordnance to make any attempt

on a large scale against the British army. At last this lack of ordnance was remedied by the extraordinary enterprise of General Knox, who brought down from Ticonderoga and Crown Point by means of sledges, through almost impassible snow and ice, a train of heavy ordnance. These pieces had been captured when the British forts were taken, and this accession gave Washington the strength he needed to take the offensive.

There was no doubt in the mind of Washington as to the choice of the best move against the British army in Boston. In fact, it had been decided in advance that the occupation of Dorchester Heights would be undertaken as soon as the Americans were well enough supplied with munitions to take the offensive. Washington did not delay in using his new strength to carry out this project. But it must be understood that this occupation of Dorchester Heights was altogether different from the rash occupation of the Charlestown heights on the night of June 16, 1775.

This time, in contrast to the unsound plan of sending an isolated force to fight in Charlestown, there were well devised and well coördinated plans for a general action against the British. On the night of March 4, 1776, Washington sent an American force of 2,000, under General Thomas, to take position and intrench on Dorchester Heights. Not only on the morning of March 5 was General Thomas in an intrenched position and well supplied, but he was also reinforced on that day by an additional 2,000. Moreover, 4,000 chosen American troops were held prepared to make an attack from Cambridge upon the British, under the cover of floating batteries, and with the coöperation of the American troops from Roxbury.

For the British, the revelation of the American works on Dorchester Heights was as much of a surprise as had been the sudden apparition on the heights of Charlestown in the morning of June 17, 1775. Howe wrote: "It must have been the employment of at least 12,000 men." But the measures taken by Howe against these works can only be called half way and half hearted. Instead of any adequate British preparations to cope with the situation, 2,400 troops under Lord Percy were put on board transports to attack the in-

trenched Americans. The idea can now be dismissed, as a military impossibility, that this number of British troops would have been able to accomplish anything against the strong force of General Thomas on Dorchester Heights. The question as to whether the British would have attempted an assault was never put to the test, as there was a storm, with strong winds and a high surf, which kept Lord Percy's troops on their transports.

On March 7 Howe had abandoned any thought of attack or resistance, and had decided to evacuate Boston. On March 8 informal negotiations were being initiated through prominent citizens of Boston, with the object of securing the withdrawal of the British forces unharmed in exchange for the safety of the town of Boston.

Thus quickly was a decisive military result won without a battle. But there can be no question of the fact that the bloodless battle of Dorchester Heights was won on the blood-stained field of the Battle of Bunker Hill. The menacing spectre of Bunker Hill hung over the intrenchments on Dorchester Heights, and this dread shape, with its threat of another scene of slaughter unknown to European warfare, was a danger the British were unable to face. Then and there the Battle of Bunker Hill became a decisive American victory — and its prestige remained a power throughout the American Revolution.

It is also true that the Concord and Lexington Fight of April 19, 1775, had established a military condition which remained a decisive factor throughout the American Revolution. This can be summed up in the statement that the British were never able to send out expeditions to subdue the country. The Regulars were able to win set battles, to capture cities, and to maintain themselves if supplied by sea. But, whenever a British force ventured out into the country, it was eventually driven in or else captured or destroyed. Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga was a case in point. And Cornwallis, the only able British general, was compelled to give up his campaign in the Carolinas by withdrawing into Yorktown.

In view of all this, we are now forced to believe that the Siege of Boston saw the birth of military conditions which

proved to be baffling to the British. These must be added to the immediate results of the siege itself. And yet the immediate results were certainly decisive in every sense of the word. The phrase on Washington's medal, "Hostibus primo fugatis," was most significant. For no one can measure the moral effect of this first putting the enemy to flight. It was a fearful blow to British prestige throughout the Colonies, and it at once put the war on a different basis. Here it was a final blow. King Street was to become State Street, and Massachusetts a Commonwealth. Never again was there any danger of British rule for Massachusetts.

MAY MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, May 14, 1925, at 3 P.M., President Moore in the chair.

The record of the Annual Meeting of the Society on April 8 was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Miss Fanny P. Mason, papers, 1805–1908, relating to lands owned by Jonathan Mason and others on Beacon Hill.

From Dr. Tracy Jackson Putnam, papers mainly of his great-great-grandfather, Judge Samuel Putnam (H.C. 1787), of the Massachusetts Supreme Court, running from 1775 to 1857, and including letters from Paine Wingate, 1790, Timothy Pickering, 1792–1814, on public affairs, the Embargo, and the War of 1812, from Gov. Caleb Strong and several judges relating to court matters, and from members of Judge Putnam's family.

From Dr. Robert M. Lawrence, copies of letters, in five volumes, of Amos and William R. Lawrence, 1828–1845, to be added to the Lawrence Family papers previously given by him.

From Dr. Frederick C. Shattuck, more Shattuck Family papers, including some letters of George Ticknor, Audubon, Samuel Parkman, Charles Lowell, Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, and Samuel Hooper.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, New York, its Medal.

From George A. Hopkins, of Boston, by deposit, a miniature portrait of Commodore Esek Hopkins, commander-in-chief of the first United States Navy.

From the Unitarian Historical Society, a photogravure, by A. W. Elson, Belmont, of Gilbert Stuart's portrait of William Ellery Channing, owned by Mrs. John A. Jeffries, of Boston.

From Frederick C. Shattuck, a photogravure of the portrait of Capt. John Derby by Stuart, now in the possession of his son, George C. Shattuck.

Dr. Shattuck added that Capt. Derby married Elizabeth Cheever, daughter of William Downes and Elizabeth

(Edwards) Cheever, and sister of Mrs. Caleb Davis, Dr. Shattuck's great-grandmother. General Gage sent his official report of the battle of Lexington by Royal Express Packet *Sukey,* sailing April 24, 1775. Captain John Derby sailed April 28 in the *Quero,* twenty-four hours after getting his orders from the Provincial Congress. He crossed in twenty-nine days, arriving before the *Sukey,* and thus carrying the first news of the battle to England. Captain Derby, curiously enough, was the first to bring to the United States the news of the Peace in 1783 in the *Astrea* which he commanded. He was one of the owners of the *Columbia,* Captain Gray, which discovered the Columbia River.

The Recording Secretary, in the absence of the Corresponding Secretary, reported that letters had been received from Charles Victor Langlois, of Paris, France, accepting Corresponding Membership, and from Dr. Harvey Cushing, of Brookline, accepting Resident Membership in the Society.

The President announced the appointment of the following Standing Committees for the ensuing year:

Finance Committee: Francis R. Hart, Grenville H. Norcross, and Charles Francis Adams.

Library Committee: Lawrence Shaw Mayo, Albert Matthews, and Clarence S. Brigham.

House Committee: Dr. John W. Farlow, Frederic Winthrop, and William B. H. Dowse.

Committee to publish the Proceedings: Chester N. Greenough, Henry W. Cunningham, and Worthington C. Ford.

It was noted: That the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury, to be expended on such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society.

Mr. Charles G. Washburn read a paper on

Roosevelt and the 1912 Campaign.

Under date of January 22, 1926, the *Boston Herald,* in reviewing the late Solomon B. Griffin's book on the late Governor and Senator, Winthrop Murray Crane, referred to the following passage on page 94:

For Roosevelt . . . to say to the regulars in Chicago in 1912 that the Progressives and their leader would be satisfied if the Republican Convention would nominate Senator Lodge for the presidency, was one of the amazing and amusing episodes of that tempestuous period when violent language was catching.

The *Herald* said that Mr. Griffin was no doubt referring to the *1916*[1] convention when Roosevelt as everyone knows *did* suggest Mr. Lodge as a candidate who would be satisfactory to him. This comment drew from Congressman Treadway of Massachusetts a letter to the editor of the *Herald* dated January 26, 1926, in which he said:

Senator Curtis authorized me to tell you that Mr. Griffin's item is correct as he was in a group at the convention to whom word came that Roosevelt would not break from the party if Senator Lodge was nominated.

The *Herald* expressed doubt as to the correctness of Senator Curtis' statement and appealed to Elihu Root, who was the permanent Chairman of the 1912 Republican Convention. Mr. Root, in his reply which appeared in the *Herald* of February 10, 1926, said that he had no knowledge of any such statement as that attributed to Mr. Roosevelt by Mr. Griffin and Senator Curtis of Kansas.

The high reputation of Mr. Griffin, for many years the editor of the *Springfield Republican,* and the prominence of Senator Curtis in the Councils of the Republican party, would naturally and properly give much weight to any statements made by them; and it is for that reason that I take the opportunity to record my conviction that Mr. Roosevelt could not have made the statement in 1912 attributed to him by Mr. Griffin and by Senator Curtis.

I am confident that Mr. Griffin referred to the 1912 Convention because he speaks of it as "that tempestuous period when violent language was catching." The 1916 Convention was not "tempestuous" nor was there occasion for any "violent language."

What then was Roosevelt's state of mind in February, 1912,

[1] Italics are mine. — C. G. W.

when he decided to be a candidate in the Republican Convention? I think it may be stated as follows:

He admitted that every one of his personal friends had advised him against being a candidate. He said that if he were to wait for four years the Republican party would be in a hopelessly moribund condition and that then, 1912, was the crucial moment. He did not believe that any of the party leaders would support him, not even Lodge, but that his support would come from the people. He thought that the probabilities were all against his nomination. He disclaimed any ambition to be President for the sake of the office, but wanted power to express his ideas in some authoritative way, believing as he did that the most important questions were humanitarian and economic and that the will of the people had been thwarted, especially by the courts on constitutional grounds and that reforms were urgent.

Three years later I asked Roosevelt to give me his reasons for being a candidate in 1912 and he did so in a letter written in November, 1915, from which the following is a quotation:

> Any change of decision like that or any reaching of a decision comes as a result of a cumulative process — whether it is a determination to run for President or to adopt the Declaration of Independence. The Governors had been writing me individually and seeing me. I had told them I was not convinced that there was the popular demand, or that there was a need of my making the very great personal sacrifice that would be entailed upon me by running. Gradually by all kinds of interviews, by all kinds of articles in the papers, by all kinds of letters and communications I became convinced of what proved to be the fact, namely that at least two-thirds of the Republican rank and file wished me to run, that if Taft were nominated he would be the worst beaten candidate for President the Republicans had ever put up and above all, that unless I made the fight for the great principles in which I believed with all my heart and soul, there would be no fight made for them at all. I felt then, and had long felt, as I feel now, for I feel that unless this country seriously and soberly faces the problems before it, as they ought to be faced and takes cool, wary and effective action for social and industrial justice, within its limits, no less than for national efficiency without its limits, it will some day suffer for worse disaster than England is just now skirting the

edge of. . . . I therefore felt that I ought to make the fight. From my standpoint the result justified me.

I have examined the figures in the primaries and in the 1912 election with great care and think that Roosevelt was justified in stating that *in February, 1912,* "at least two-thirds of the Republican rank and file" wished him to run.

Referring to Roosevelt's letter to me of November, 1915, he says in opening, "Any change of decision like that."

He *had* changed his mind between November, 1911, and February, 1912, in regard to being a candidate in the Republican Convention of the latter year. I had a talk with him in November, 1911. I spoke to him of the Convention and of his possible candidacy. He said in substance that he did not want to be a candidate, that he did not want the office again and that he believed that it would be a great risk for him to take it and that he had no idea that conditions would arise that would make it necessary. If, however, such conditions should arise and it should become in his opinion a duty, he would not decline to be drafted. As late as December, 1911, he wrote to influential men of the party in Washington urging them to do everything they could to prevent any mention of his name in connection with the office. I talked with him in January, 1912, and again he said he did not want the nomination, he doubted if any Republican could be elected, and that he personally had everything to lose and nothing to gain if he should enter the contest but again he said that if there should be an uprising of the people, which he did not anticipate, he might consider it. When I asked him why he did not say that under no circumstances would he accept the office if it were tendered him (for I was opposed to his candidacy), he said in substance

> I had to eat my words once in connection with the Vice Presidency and I don't want to run any chance of having to do it again.

He was in this state of mind when, on February 10, 1912, at a meeting in Chicago, the Republican governors of seven States, West Virginia, Nebraska, New Hampshire, Wyoming, Michigan, Kansas, and Missouri, asked Roosevelt in the following letter to become a candidate for the Presidency:

We, the undersigned Republican governors, assembled for the purpose of considering what will best insure the continuation of the Republican party as a useful agency of good government, declare it our belief, after a careful investigation of the facts, that a large majority of the Republican voters of the country favor your nomination, and a large majority of the people favor your election, as the next President of the United States.

We believe that your candidacy will insure success in the next campaign. We believe that *you* represent, as no other man represents, those principles and policies upon which we must appeal for a majority of the votes of the American people, and which, in our opinion, are necessary for the happiness and prosperity of the country.

We believe that, in view of the public demand, you should soon declare whether if the nomination for the Presidency come to you unsolicited and unsought, you will accept it.

In submitting this request, we are not considering your personal interests. We do not regard it as proper to consider either the interests or the preference of any man as regards the nomination for the Presidency. We are expressing our sincere belief and best judgment as to what is *demanded of you* in the interests of the people as a whole, and we feel that you would be unresponsive to a plain public duty if you should decline to accept the nomination, coming as the voluntary expression of the wishes of a majority of the Republican voters of the United States through the action of their delegates in the next National Convention.

With the knowledge that he would be a candidate, Roosevelt made on February 21, 1912, his Columbus speech on a "Charter of Democracy" in which, among other things, he advocated the recall of judicial decisions which, as is generally recognized, alienated hundreds of thousands of Republican voters, among them Senator Lodge, and then, after an interval of three days, to give any of the seven Governors, who thought the Columbus speech too radical, a chance to recant, he replied to the Governors under date of February 24, 1912, as follows:

I deeply appreciate your letter and I realize to the full the heavy responsibility it *puts upon me* expressing, as it does, the carefully considered convictions of the men elected by popular vote to stand as the heads of government in their several states. I absolutely agree with you that this matter is not one to be decided with any

reference to the personal preferences or interests of any man but purely from the standpoint of the interests of the people as a whole. I shall accept the nomination for President if it is tendered to me and I will *adhere to this decision until the convention has expressed its preference.* One of the chief principles for which I have stood and for which I now stand and which I have always endeavored and always shall endeavor to reduce to action, is the *genuine rule of the people* and therefore I hope that so far as possible the people may be given the chance, through direct primaries, to express their preference as to who shall be the nominee of the Republican Presidential Convention.

Soon after Roosevelt's announcement that he would be a candidate in the Republican Convention (February 24, 1912) Senator Lodge made the following public statement:

I am opposed to the Constitutional changes advocated by Colonel Roosevelt in his recent speech at Columbus. *I have very strong convictions* on these questions which, during the past three or four years, I have expressed in public with such force of argument as I could command. But Colonel Roosevelt and I for thirty years, and wholly apart from politics, have been close and most intimate friends. *I must continue to oppose the policies which he urged at Columbus* but I cannot personally oppose him who has been my lifelong friend and for this reason I take no part whatever in the campaign for the presidential nomination.

Senator Lodge said in a letter to Roosevelt February 28, 1912:

I could not abandon my convictions, and to come out for you, holding and known to hold the views which I have expressed, would have stultified me and made me worse than useless to you.

Roosevelt said to Lodge in reply March 1, 1912:

For a couple of years I have felt that you and I were heading opposite ways as regards internal politics. I shan't try to justify my view point because it would seem as if I were attacking yours. . . . Of course, you will stand by your convictions.

It is my conviction that Roosevelt entered this campaign without, as the main purpose, a desire to gratify a personal ambition but as the *leader of a cause* and without any thought

as to how his personal fortunes would be affected. Here is what he once said to me:

You know that 1912 really represented merely the goal of thought for which I had always been heading. From my standpoint it was merely the effort to apply the principles of Abraham Lincoln to the conditions of the twentieth century.

Here is what Senator Lodge said to me at the time:

You and I know and perhaps a few others that Theodore is absolutely sincere. He feels that he has *a mission.* The presidency to him is merely incidental and he believes that he is heading a great movement in behalf of popular rights and popular freedom.

A member of Roosevelt's family wrote me some years ago as follows:

I remember very well in February, 1912, when the "Seven Governors" wrote him the letter begging him to be the leader of "Progressive Republicanism" as opposed to the more reactionary type of Republicanism, that at that time I was very doubtful as to the wisdom of his injecting himself into that campaign. I could not help feeling that he was being asked to make too great a sacrifice, for I foresaw the great difficulties of the situation, as he did himself. They did not, however, deter him in the least, because he had fully taken into consideration and weighed the results, and as he, himself, said in his famous speech in Carnegie Hall: "What difference does it make if an instrument used for a great purpose should be broken in the using?" His mood that winter was one of the greatest seriousness, and over and over again he told me that no matter what happened to himself, he was convinced that unless a more progressive attitude were taken towards the labor questions, the wage-earners' questions, and all industrial legislation, a new revolution would be the inevitable result. . . .

Here you have the crusader, and here is Roosevelt's creed declared March 20, 1912, in his Carnegie Hall address:

In order to succeed we need leaders of inspired idealism, leaders to whom are granted great visions, who dream greatly and strive to make their dreams come true; who can kindle the people with

the fire from their own burning souls. The leader for the time being, whoever he may be, is but an instrument, to be used until broken and then to be cast aside; and if he is worth his salt he will care no more when he is broken than a soldier cares when he is sent where his life is forfeit in order that the victory may be won. In the long fight for righteousness the watchword for all of us is, spend and be spent. It is of little matter whether any one man fails or succeeds; but the cause shall not fail, for it is the cause of mankind.

An incident which has been generally overlooked, perhaps forgotten, which I cannot help thinking had some effect upon Roosevelt, in February, 1912, was a speech made by President Taft at the Union League Club in New York on February 12, 1912. Bear in mind that the letter of the seven Governors was dated February 10, 1912. Two days later Mr. Taft made the speech I refer to, in which occurs the following paragraph:

> There are those who look upon the present situation as one full of evil and corruption and as a tyranny of concentrated wealth and who in apparent despair at any ordinary remedy are seeking to *pull down* those things which have been regarded as the pillars of the temple of freedom and representative government and to reconstruct our whole society on some new principle, not definitely formulated and with no intelligent or intelligible forecast of the exact constitutional and statutory results to be attained. . . . Such *extremists* would hurry us into a condition which would find no parallel except in the *French Revolution* or in that babbling anarchy that once characterized the South American Republics. Such extremists are not progressives, they are *political emotionalists or neurotics.*

Of course this characterization was of Roosevelt's followers and necessarily of their leader. I do not criticize in the least President Taft for making the speech, but it is a part of the history of the times and as such must be recognized. This arraignment must have infuriated Roosevelt, who had always regarded himself as the defender of the state against violence of any kind. He sought to be a *Creator* and not a *Destroyer.* That this speech rankled, is demonstrated by Roosevelt's frequent reference to it in his subsequent cam-

paigns. Now all this may seem a long prelude, but it seems to me necessary in order to demonstrate that *Roosevelt* and *Roosevelt alone* could lead the Progressives of the Republican party and then the Progressive Party. The letter of the Governors and his reply made almost a legal, certainly a moral, contract binding him to lead them. They wanted *him* and *him alone*. Meantime he had been characterized by the President of the United States, as Roosevelt thought, as one who would pull down the pillars of the temple — who would parallel the horrors of the French Revolution, who would create chaos, who was a political emotionalist, a neurotic. Added to this, most of his closest personal friends had declined to follow him, even Senator Lodge. Then, inspired by the spirit expressed in the Carnegie Hall address, he entered the Chicago Convention, all political associations of the past were thrust aside, and no quarter was to be expected from either wing of the party. Is it conceivable that Roosevelt could *then* have proposed to withdraw in favor of one with whom he was politically at war, that he could *then* attempt to deliver his associates to one with whom they had nothing in common, and whom many of them abhorred politically — his associates to whom he had practically sworn allegiance? A "Crusader" of the Roosevelt type does not do such things. We all remember the tenseness of the situation in that Convention. Every whisper was telegraphed to the uttermost parts of the world. Could overtures pointing to Lodge as a substitute have been, ever so mildly, suggested to any "group" of men without causing reverberations to reach every hamlet in the country? To me it seems impossible.

The question may naturally occur why, if in 1912, it was impossible for Roosevelt to find Senator Lodge acceptable to him, as the nominee for the Presidency, he could have found him acceptable in 1916. The answer seems to me obvious and complete. In 1916 there was but one paramount and overwhelming issue and that was our relation to the great war. Upon that question Roosevelt and Lodge were in complete sympathy. They had both taken an active part in preparing the country for war, not then declared by us but sure to be, as they thought and not as soon as they would have it. When Roosevelt was asked in 1916 what candidate would be

acceptable to him, he said, among other things, in his telegram, suggesting Senator Lodge:

> He has . . . a peculiarly close acquaintance with the type of questions now most pressing for settlement. He has consistently fought for preparedness for the Navy, preparedness in fortifying the Panama Canal, preparedness in upbuilding the Army.

And thus it happened that Lodge, who in 1912 was opposed to the nomination of Roosevelt, as a delegate in the 1916 Convention voted for him, and Roosevelt, who could not have been reconciled to the nomination of Lodge in 1912, found him acceptable in 1916. The change of attitude in both men was due to a change in issues.

Mr. HALE read a paper on

A BOSTON DRAMATIC CRITIC OF A CENTURY AGO.

It is generally known that although theatrical entertainments were popular in the middle and southern colonies from early in the 18th century, they were regarded in Massachusetts as an invention of the Evil One. While Tony Ashton, arriving, as he wrote in his sketch of his life, at Charleston, South Carolina, "full of Lice, Shame, Poverty, Nakedness and Hunger," introduced plays there in 1703, Increase Mather in 1686 wrote against the drama in his "Testimony against profane and superstitious customs." There was a stringent law passed against "public stage plays, interludes and other theatrical entertainments" in 1750 after two young Englishmen with some volunteer comrades had horrified Boston by giving a performance of Otway's "Orphan." Even in 1778 passages from Shakespeare's "Macbeth" recited by a Mr. and Mrs. Smith were described as a moral lecture, a "dialogue on the horrid crime of murder." So "Othello" was performed as a "moral dialogue, depicting the evil effects of jealousy and other bad passions and proving that happiness can only spring from the pursuit of virtue." Mr. Douglas represented "a noble and magnanimous Moor, who loves a young lady named Desdemona, and after he has married her, harbors (as in too many cases) the dreadful passion

of jealousy"; while Mr. Hallam as Cassio delineated "a young and thoughtful officer, who is traduced by Iago and getting drunk, loses his situation and his general's esteem. All young men, whatsoever, take example from Cassio

> The ill effects of drinking would you see?
> Be warn'd, and fly from evil company."

And so the "pernicious tendency of libertinism" was exemplified in the "Tragical History of George Barnwell."

In 1790 leading residents of Boston who possessed a taste for refined pleasures brought up in town meeting the subject of opening a theatre. There was the wish to repeal the law, but in the legislature the law was upheld. Still there were performances of all sorts. Thus it was announced that at Mr. Bryant's Hall:

> Master Henry, from London, will walk on his belly in the shape of a camel. Master Manley will balance his whole body on the edge of a candle stick, without the assistance of hand or foot. He will pick up two pins with his eyes, and a dollar at the same time with his mouth; rolls like a whale in the sea."

In 1792 a pamphlet was published here: "Effects of the Stage on the Manners of the People; and the Propriety of Encouraging and Establishing a Virtuous Theatre."

The story of the arguments for and against the repeal of the law prohibiting theatrical performances is told in Col. William W. Clapp's "Record of the Boston Stage," a useful book, though it is incomplete, rather superficial, and at times inaccurate. Mr. Sonneck informs us that Samuel Adams in 1791 could not gain the ears of the assembly when he attempted to speak in favor of the act. Gov. Hancock instructed the Attorney General to begin legal proceedings against some players. Finally the Federal St. Theatre was built. It was to be a model institution. When the Rev. Mr. Belknap chose a playnight for one of his lectures at the church in Federal Street, the theatre remained closed and the printed regulations for actors and audience are good reading today:

> The ladies, as may be seated in the boxes where the seats are low, would attend without hats, bonnets, feathers or any other

high head dress that the sight of the gentlemen, who are seated behind them, may not be obstructed.

The audience was requested not to call for any particular tunes from the orchestra. The musicians came out with a protest, assuring the public that it was not more their duty than their wish to play what was called for.

At the same time they wish them to consider the peculiar poignancy of insult to men not accustomed to it. Thus situated they entreat a generous people so far to compassionate their feelings as to prevent the thoughtless, or ill-disposed, from throwing apples, stones, etc. into the orchestra, that while they eat the bread of industry in a free country it may not be tinctured with the poison of humiliation.

It may here be said that some entertained a prejudice in Boston against professional musicians though not nearly so strong as against theatre folk. John Adams recommended a young man because he did not give his time to fiddling. On the other hand Josiah Quincy in his journal of a voyage to South Carolina (1772) noted that at the dinner in Charleston, with the Sons of St. Patrick, there were 6 violins, 2 hautbois, etc. "After dinner six French horns in concert — most surprising music. Two solos on the French horn, by one who is said to blow the finest horn in the world." Mr. Quincy attended a concert there, and found the two "base viols and French horns grand. One Abercrombie played the first violin, and a solo incomparably better than anyone I ever heard. He cannot speak a word of English." This sequence of statements recalls an experience of Artemus Ward's: "I met a man in Oregon who hadn't any teeth, not a tooth in his head, yet that man could play on the bass drum better than any man I ever met."

I have referred to the pamphlet published in 1792 by Wm. Haliburton. He favored a theatre with a seating capacity of 6200 in a community of about 20,000 inhabitants. His pamphlet has been described as a curious mixture of lofty ideas, phantastic enthusiasm, pedantry, impracticability, erudition, ignorance, common sense and common nonsense. Here is a sample of his rhetoric:

With the animating descriptions of the stage, music combines her soft, deepfelt, retentive sounds, her enhancing powers, and thenceforth united they return with trebled energy, dwell on the fancy and govern the man when busied on the daily concerns of life.

The opposition in Boston to shows did not die out with the erection of a theatre. The prejudice long remained. Witness the title "Boston Museum," and the fact that for many years there were no performances there on Saturday night. Harriet Beecher Stowe had not freed herself from prejudice when she gave her reasons for refusing to sanction a dramatization of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Let us not forget that when Emma Abbott took the part of Marguerite in Gounod's "Faust" in a western city, she interpolated "Nearer, My God, to Thee" in order to give a moral tone to the garden scene where Faust seduces with the aid of Mephistopheles.

Almost simultaneously with the play came the critic. In Boston one, after murdering with his pen the male members of a company, wrote that it was only with pain he felt himself called on to censure the "fairer part of our species." He then described an actress as having neither face, nor voice, nor form, nor action, in short, not one talent for the profession she had usurped. It is said that the first dramatic criticism published in this country was in the *Maryland Gazette* when Miss Hallam played Imogene. The now unknown critic was then lost in wonder, love and praise. "How true and thorough her knowledge of the part she personated! Her whole form and dimensions how happily convertible and universally adapted to the variety of her part."

Some of these early critics were of acknowledged ability. William Coleman, a friend of Alexander Hamilton, seems to have had unusual qualifications. He was a man of herculean strength; he once went from Greenfield to Northampton on skates; he had killed a man in a duel in Love Lane, as 21st Street, in New York, was then called, and had courteously left the corpse on his doorstep. It is not known whether his victim was an objectionable actor.

The critics were known as "scalpers and tomahawkers," "gentle savages," "men of low, egotistic, unfair, malicious character," "rats." Washington Irving, writing for his

brother's newspaper, the *Morning Chronicle,* drew a picture: "I have seen one of them perched on the front of the box with his back to the stage, sucking the head of his stick and staring vacantly at the audience, insensible to the most interesting specimens of scenic representation, though the tear of sensibility was trembling in every eye around him."

But the great majority were men of education, who, as Mr. Montrose Moses reminds us, knew their classics, read Greek, could recite Shakespeare backwards; they were raised on Addison, Pope, Johnson. They pictured their ideal dramatist and actor. They were encouraged by their editors. It was years afterwards that Horace Greeley wrote in his "Autobiography": "I have since thought that the wise way would be to choose a fit occasion to go *once* to a good theatre, and never darken the doors of any playhouse again." The old critics viewed the work of native playwrights by the standard of classic elegance. As a rule they were partisans in their appreciation or abuse of an actor.

They were amusingly portrayed in "Salmagundi," papers written 1807–8 by William and Washington Irving and James Kirke Paulding. Their dramatic critic was assisted by a gentleman lately from London, who assured him that if Mr. Cooper emphasized "and" instead of "but" or Mrs. Oldmiton pinned her kerchief a hair's breadth awry, or Mrs. Darley offered to dare to look less than "the daughter of a senator of Venice" — the standard of a senator's daughter being exactly six feet — they should all hear of it in good time. And so Mrs. Villiers, playing Lady Macbeth, was advised to stick her candle in her night cap, to mark more strongly the derangement of her mind; Mr. Cooper was praised for not dipping Macbeth's daggers in blood so deep as formerly by the matter of an inch of two. Cooper's manner of dying as Othello was censured. When a man is mortally stabbed he takes a flying leap of at least five feet. It was argued on the other hand that a man had a right to die as he pleased. Mynheer Van Brumblebottom, the Roscius of Rotterdam, thundered down on his seat of honor when he received a mortal wound, and was thus great in a dying scene, since he knew how to make the most of his latter end. An actor should slap his pocket-hole for a minor burst of passion;

for a major, his breast; for a burst maximus, he whacks away at his forehead. "Nothing can be finer than an exit, slapping the forehead from one end of the stage to the other." There was minute questioning of why Desdemona wished that heaven had made her such a man as Othello.

One of the most prominent dramatic critics of the early years was Robert Treat Paine, who wrote: "We are deeply impressed with the belief that the theatre is highly important to society as a great public school, in which all classes may assemble, to acquire mutual respect from examples of good breeding, to cultivate morality from the delineations of life, to enliven social humor from the vivacity of fiction, and to imbibe correct ideas of classical reading, and of our native tongue from striking instances, however rare, of the force of elocution and purity of pronunciation."

This brilliant, but unfortunate, man was born at Taunton in 1773, the son of Robert Treat Paine, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. He died in Boston in 1811. His Christian name was Thomas. To quote the stately Allibone: "As this was also the designation of a famous polemical writer, not distinguished for his admiration of Christianity, the subject of our notice obtained the legislative sanction to take the name of his father." The good Allibone held in holy horror the author of "Common Sense," and "The American Crisis," which encouraged and sustained the cause of the American Revolution, and of the "Age of Reason." Of Thomas Paine he wrote: "Intemperate, tyrannical, licentious and profane, a torment to himself and a terror to his household, he left the world without repentance, and exchanged the horrors of a death-bed devoid of hope, for the infamy of a dishonored grave."

This is an age of rehabilitation. The Emperor Tiberius is now described as a wise and benevolent ruler, whose orgies at Capri as described by Tacitus and Suetonius were in reality pleasant and healthful summer outings; Lucrezia Borgia was a Lady Bountiful to her people, and though not a strict teetotaler, never pressed the celebrated wine of her family on guests and acquaintances whom she happened to dislike; Richard III. of England was a man cruelly libeled by prejudiced historians and imaginative dramatists. His greatest

fault, it seems, was his introduction and encouragement of boy choirs in English churches.

No doubt Thomas Paine was slandered. Many in recent years have come forward in his defence. He was not an atheist; he was a deist. The licentiousness of his life has been vigorously disputed. As a proof of his habitual drunkenness it was often and gravely stated that his nose was as red as the velvet small clothes which President Jefferson sported on his reception days and other public occasions. Jarvis, about to take a bust of Paine, was quoted as saying, "I shall secure him to a nicety if I can get plaster enough for his carbuncled nose." It was said that boys in the street, seeing him go by, would shout:

> Tom Paine is come from far, from far;
> His nose is like a blazing star.

But a swollen, fiery nose on man or woman is not the symbol of undue alcoholic indulgence. The strictest abstainer, the most devout Calvinist, may be cursed with a nose like Bardolph's. Yet Thomas Paine has suffered and still suffers by scoffers at any revealed religion who ignorantly use his name in support of their own violent, blasphemous opinions and outcries. Last March Mr. E. N. Vallandigham of Chestnut Hill wrote to the *Boston Herald* with reference to the tall monument on Paine's empty grave on the farm given to him by the State of New York in recognition of his services to American independence. "For more than a dozen years," said Mr. Vallandigham, "I lived a few miles from the Paine monument. Here a body of blatant atheists used to assemble on Paine's birthday to do him honor. They sat in the very shadow of the monument inscribed all over with quotations from Paine's works acknowledging his belief in God as creator and ruler of the universe. Thus he was misunderstood by both conservatives and radicals." Is it not probable that if the "Age of Reason" were to be published today for the first time it would pass comparatively unnoticed among books devoted to the theological higher criticism?

But our Thomas Paine changed his name in 1801 by an act of the legislature and was known as Robert Treat Paine. He was graduated with distinction at Harvard in 1792.

Thereafter he became known as lawyer, editor, dramatic critic and poet. As a poet he is best known today by the patriotic song, "Adams and Liberty," for which he received $750. For his "Ruling Passion," spoken before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, he received $1200; for "The Invention of Labor," delivered at Harvard on Commencement Day, $1500. The song "Adams and Liberty," written when a war with France seemed imminent, was extremely popular. It was first advertised in June, 1798, as "the Boston Patriotic Song, written by Thomas Paine, A.M., set to music as was lately sung at the Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society with the most unbounded applause. Just published and for sale by W. P. Blake and L. Blake at the Boston Book Store No. 6 Cornhill." The verses were set, as was the "Star Spangled Banner," to the popular English drinking song, "To Anacreon in Heaven." A third edition, "as altered by Thomas Paine was printed and for sale at P. A. von Hagan's pianoforte warehouse at No. 3 Cornhill, for the pianoforte, German flute, or violin."

Opinions differed as to the merits of his poetry. John Neal in 1823 said that Paine's language "two or three times during his life was inspiration." Theophilus Parsons was quoted as saying, "I remember hearing what were thought the great sums of money paid for his poems. He was then praised beyond his merits, and now his actual merit is forgot."

Paine's poems with specimens of his dramatic criticism are to be found with a sketch of his life in a book published in 1812. The biographer's name is not given on the title page, but Charles Prentiss wrote the sketch in the florid style known as Asiatic, also Corinthian. The sketch was completed by Mr. Selfridge. The volume also contains a monody on Paine, an apostrophe to him as "Columbia's Bard," and "Tributary Lines" to Paine.

Paine's Muse was too often given to hifalutin, which however was then held in high esteem. Yet when he wrote the line, "till then thy name shall pervagate the earth," and in another line introduced the word "edicted," even Mr. Prentiss remarked: "Whether the republic of letters will recognize the validity of these acts of poetic sovereignty, time

must determine." But the verb "edict" and the noun "pervagation" are 17th Century words. The latter was used by scholarly writers of a half century ago.

In his early poetic years Paine looked on Edmund Burke as the champion of despotism on account of his attitude towards the French Revolution; later he repented and abused the French. Here is an example of his poetry taken from the Prize Prologue spoken by Charles Powell in the character of Apollo at the opening of the first theatre in Boston in January, 1794. This poem won a medal:

> When first o'er Athens, Learning's dawning ray
> Gleamed the dim twilight of the Attick day,
> To charm, improve, the hours of state repose,
> The deathless father of Drama rose.

Here is another sample taken from the poem spoken by Mr. Hodgkinson at the opening of the new Federal Theatre on Oct. 29, 1798:

> In France, whose motley breed extremes delight,
> Who grin like monkeys, or like tygers fight,
> Autun's meek priest, whose conscience knows no qualm,
> Except the cravings of an itching palm;
> Who, born a miser, and a prelate reared,
> His flock deserted, when their fleece was sheared.
> The ancient patriots from their niches jostles,
> And calls French pirates, Liberty's apostles!
> This, though the bishop spoke it, is no brag,
> For he's the Judas, and still bears the bag!
>
> But, thanks to heaven, who propped our wavering state,
> And saved its glory from Venetian fate,
> The silk-worm knave in vain has wound his maze,
> In vain his basilisk eye has fixed its gaze;
> In vain the holy pimp his toils has spread,
> And smoothed Delilah's lap for Sampson's head.

Who would not have liked to hear this diatribe against Talleyrand roared out by the excellent Mr. Hodgkinson with appropriate gestures?

Paine's political prejudices were strong. Coming up at Harvard for his second degree he recited violent lines which President Willard had struck out of the poem for the occasion. At first Paine engaged in mercantile affairs. Going to

a bank with a check for $500, he met several literary acquaintances. To quote Mr. Prentiss, they all entered a hackney coach and in Cambridge spent a week "in the enjoyment of the feast of reason and the flow of soul"; but he did not embezzle; the check was not cashed.

About 1792–3 Paine began to be deeply interested in the theatre. Eliza Baker, an actress of 16 years, young, handsome, amiable, and intelligent, came to Boston from England and was not viewed with indifference by Paine, but "his views were governed by affection, delicacy and honor." She appeared with her father at the opening of the Boston Theatre in Federal Street in "the truly Republican tragedy" of "Gustavus Vasa, the deliverer of his country," by H. Brooke; also in "Modern Antiques, or the Merry Mourners." The program contained this announcement: "As we shall ever wish to give what we conceive to be the most harmonic to the soul, and congenial to the general sentiments of our brethren of the land we live in, the following distribution of music will precede the drawing up of the curtain: Yankee Doodle, Grand Battle overture in Henry IV., General Washington's march." A box was at one dollar; the pit 3s. 9d.; gallery one quarter of a dollar. The curtain was drawn up precisely at 6 P.M.

Paine married Eliza Baker. His father disowned him for several years. The "higher circles" considered his marriage as a degradation, although she left the stage on her marriage and was a devoted wife. Her father kept an inn. "Improper hours and indulgence" at this hotel "confirmed injurious habits." As editor of a semi-weekly he made enemies and by one was beaten in a street row. He steadied down and till the fall of 1803 was a diligent and prosperous lawyer, though he was more and more drawn to the playhouse.

"Some favorite in the green room," says Mr. Prentiss, "for distant admiration or more familiar intimacy seemed always essential to his felicity." He became enamored of a singer and actress, Mrs. Jones. "An erratic Venus crossed his orbit and attracted him from his course." Unlike Ulysses he could not close his ears while passing the isle of the sirens. I regret to add that his friendship for Bacchus became constant. He continued, however, "to lay great consequence on manners," a sentiment early imbibed from ancient Roman writers.

His company was sought by lovers of wit and brilliant conversation. The last years of his life were miserable through poverty and physical suffering. The volume contains an account by Dr. Warren of his ailments.

The dramatic criticisms published in this volume were contributed in 1808 to a weekly miscellany called the *Times*. They were written with great care and a fine showing of scholarship. The performance of this actor or that actress was examined in detail. Seeing William Dimond's "Adrian and Orella," he wrote of Mrs. Stanley: "In courtly or arch comedy, where taste requires elegance of dress, language, and deportment, and wit needs a skilful archer to give wing and direction to her arrows, the palm of pre-eminence has long been conceded to her by the general consent of all critical or fashionable tribunals." She excelled, it appears, in parts "in which nature is permitted to walk the stage in her own decent and graceful apparel, untortured by the bodices of folly or the stilts of declamation." Poor Mr. Usher's conception of Count Rosenheim was as much out of character as his dress. Neither of them came from the Court of Saxony. Paine reviewed Beaumont and Fletcher's "Rule a Wife and Have a Wife," which was revived a season or two ago in London; "Henry the Fourth"; "Venice Preserved," in which, as he says, Cooper and Fennel were "rival candidates for the wreath of Thespian victory"; "Othello"; "Pizarro"; "Two Strings to Your Bow"; "The School for Scandal"; "George Barnwell"; "John Bull"; "The Voice of Nature"; and a play with Shield's music, "The Highland Reel."

Some of his reviews are of greater length than would be allowed today even by the *Evening Transcript*. Paine did not hesitate to quote Quintilian and Longinus in the same paragraph; nor to write nearly a column on the proper reading of Othello's line, "Put out the light — and then, — put out the light." He laid great stress on enunciation, pronunciation, and the fitting emphasis. In a word, he respected the English language and the intention of the dramatist. He was neither a honey-dauber nor a carper. In adverse criticism he was courteous. "We are aware," he wrote, "that criticism has little zest for the fastidious palate unless some imperfections, apparent or imaginary, are either detected or invented."

His criticism when it was adverse was constructive, helpful. He did not strive to shine by a display of wit at the expense of an actor, nor did the beauty of an actress, though it may have made a personal appeal, lead him to windy and ecstatic rhetoric. If an actor's English wounded his ear, he did not slaughter him with his pen; he corrected, but not as the Roman emperor dealing with the grammarians.

By far the greater number of dramas seen and reviewed by Paine have long been in the dust-bin of Time. Cooper and Fennell, concerning whose respective merits as actors there was hot dispute, are now names known only to the historians of the theatre. Who remembers the siren, Mrs. Jones, or visits her burial place? Paine lives in American history as the writer of "Adams and Liberty," a patriotic song; yet the stage was his passion and he wrote about it with a seriousness that to present-day theatre goers seems futile, if not ludicrous. Even in his time, as we see from *Salmagundi,* the bow-wow school of criticism was the subject of jaunty ridicule. Yet it is to Paine and Dunlap and their co-mates that we are indebted for our knowledge of theatrical endeavor and public taste over a century ago.

Old actors and actresses live in the pages of Cibber and Hazlitt, Lamb and Leigh Hunt. The English line of critics is unbroken; through Lewes, Morley, Cook, we come down to Archer, Shaw, Walkley, Max Beerbohm, Ivor Brown, St. John Ervine, Agate. The French are as fortunate.

Yet recently in London, Henry Ainley, the actor, and James Agate, the critic, took part in a debate entitled, "Is Dramatic Criticism Taken Too Seriously?" Mr. Agate said that in his experience,

> actors and actresses took not the slightest notice of criticism. Newspaper editors certainly did not take dramatic criticism seriously. Even the general public does not take dramatic criticism seriously; and much of this is due to the attitude of the women, who compose three-fourths of the theatre audiences, and at *matinees* nine-tenths. Women are utterly unable to appreciate where the personal element is lacking in a play; they are unable to see through the charm and glitter of a popular actor or actress to the idiocy of the plan beneath.
>
> The only people who took criticism seriously were the critics

themselves, but whenever they praised a play as being intelligent or artistic it usually failed to run. People with plenty of money had no aesthetic taste whatever; the only people who supported good drama were those who could not afford to do so. The pit and gallery flocked to Mr. Ainley's recent revival of "Much Ado About Nothing," but because the stalls were empty, Mr. Ainley had to change Shakespeare into "Sheikspeare." (Laughter.)

Dramatic criticism is not taken nearly seriously enough, and so long as plays acclaimed unanimously as masterpieces are allowed to flitter out within a few weeks, while rubbishy pieces go on for ever, this state of things is bound to continue.

To whom will the student of the drama 50 years from now look for acquaintance with the theatrical life of the American stage from, say, 1880 to 1926? Where are the successors of Winter, Nym Crinkle (brilliant, but it was said, unscrupulous), Apthorp, Woolf, Henry Austen Clapp, Ticknor, now that Mr. Towse no longer is the leading dramatic critic of the *New York Evening Post?* The newspapers do not encourage serious criticism. The review written in what Clement Scott called the red pepper hour of journalism, must first of all be readable, a word that is too often synonymous with flippant. Few readers of newspapers demand or appreciate scholarly and discriminating criticism. They call it "heavy." Managers expect to be treated with the consideration shown the department store. The counting room is nervous.

Would Thomas Paine, known as Robert Treat Paine, find a position as a dramatic critic today? Would he have faithful readers? And in Boston how many plays of a season would deserve his consideration?

Mr. Lane submitted

Glimpses of European Conditions from the Ebeling Letters.

The following passages from letters written in the course of the years 1795 to 1817 give rather vivid glimpses of the disturbed conditions in Europe in the period following the French Revolution as seen from the chair of a busy professor, librarian and author in the city of Hamburg. Christoph

Daniel Ebeling, the writer of these letters, was engaged for many years on an elaborate account of America, descriptive, statistical and historical. In gathering materials for this work he built up what came to be a very notable collection of books and maps and current American newspapers, the result of unremitting correspondence with American authors, scholars and public men.

His principal correspondent and the one for whom he professes the greatest affection was the Rev. Dr. William Bentley of Salem, a man of great learning and of liberal theological views and a tireless worker as revealed in the four bulky volumes of his Diary. Other friends to whom he wrote from time to time were Jeremy Belknap and John Eliot, the first corresponding secretaries of this Society, Joel Barlow of Connecticut, author and diplomat, and Ezra Stiles, the President of Yale College. We find references to many other occasional correspondents in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and other places, but, so far as I know, his letters to these have not been preserved. In the Harvard Library is a bound volume of about fifty letters to Bentley, a long and highly interesting letter[1] to President Stiles describing his History of America, a few letters to Barlow, and a letter written shortly before his death to Professor Joseph McKean, while in the files of this Society are the letters to Eliot and to Belknap, several of those to the latter having already been printed in the Belknap Papers.[2]

Ebeling's letters are interesting from several points of view: (1) for what they tell of his own work on the History of America and of his steady pursuit of the facts upon which the accuracy of his labors depended, for his expression of opinions on American affairs, and for the glimpses we get of his own life and character; (2) for the account he gives of contemporary German literary and educational movements and his remarks on the books which he is constantly collecting for his American friends; and (3) for what he tells us of European politics and history in times of great confusion and hardship, only to be compared with what Europe has been going through in recent years both during and since the war. Indeed we are constantly reminded of European conditions

[1] 2 *Collections*, VIII, 270–275.

[2] 6 *Collections*, 579, etc.

and experiences in the twentieth century, but with the rôles of the principal actors reversed.

The extracts herewith presented are restricted to the portions of these letters that treat of the political or social conditions of the time and depict the writer's experiences and current impressions.

TO JOEL BARLOW.

September 15, 1795.

. . . You are near the scene of great actions, we only in the Dark of the Upper Gallery. I should wish to be with you sometimes in the boxes near the theatre but never I would descend into the Pit because I hate the very name. The Passing the Rhine gives universal allarm. Letters from Dusseldorf rejoice at the happy event. The Austrians fly *à grand pas* . . . they left 40 guns in their camp near Kaiserswerth. This all you know, I only write you that you may see we know it too. The passage was effected with the loss of a few hundred men, so it is mentioned in letters from Dusseldorf. Vive le Fevre! [3] Soon we hope to acclaim Roi Pichegru,[4] and then suddenly vive la Paix et la Republique francaise triomphante partout.

The Emigrants are driven from the Hanoverian Country into their ships. And a corps of them, the Chasseurs of Hardy, left Stade as the devil uses to live the places he visited. They burnd the casernes when ordered to the ships, they laid fire in four places of their baracks, and even attempted to burn a ship wherein they were. Poor disperate men! Now they are to be embarked in order to be cruelly sent by treacherous Britain to their inevitable ruin.

That we were vexed by the Consequences of the clandestine stay some Emigrant recruiting officers made here, you have heard without doubt. The sending them away made an end to the affair, not without bloodshed; because four innocent persons were killed and 8 wounded. Unhappily the mob was in the wrong, because they would destroy a house, wherefrom the Emigrant officer flew already the day before and which belonged to a peacable Citizen, who ordered him out, as soon as he heard of his recruting tricks. Our pretors (Justices) exerted themselves at the risk of their lives to keep the Soldiers from firing, but as the mob would not desist from throwing stones at their heads, many being bruised thereby, they at

[3] François Joseph Lefebvre (1755–1820), afterwards Duc de Dantzig.

[4] Charles Pichegru (1761–1804).

last fired, it is said without order. Unhappily we have no riot act, nor proper warnings. They use to fire without ball, but that rather provokes laughter and new insults. Every body knows what good effect the riot act does, but none will imitate it. We like in Government rather to be bad originals than good copies.

To Rev. John Eliot.

Hamburgh August 24th, 1797

. . . As I have now the Catalogue of the Society's Library I can help collecting Supplements, as now and then scarce latin and other Books relative to America occur in our auctions. I hope soon to send you a specimen.

I have joined a curious Treatise of an old german professor of Oriental Languages, who was happy to find out the letters of the persepolitan Inscriptions long since despaired and given up by all the Learned.[5] He did it at the same time when a Frenchman discovered another similar method to read them. Our German attempted even to translate them, but I fear not in the right way, as probably they are in the Zend language, which he does not understand. All is more a matter of curiosity. One of the authors collegues wrote two Volumes in german in order to prove that the Piramids, the Ruins of Persepolis, Palmyra and Balbeck, as also the english Stone-henge and the Temples of Peru were productions of Vulcans, not of men, and the Inscriptions made by the terebratula-worm. The celebrated Traveller Mr. Niebuhr [6] and I in a Review opposed him, whereupon he wrote another Volume. Never an absurd opinion was defended with so much wit and Skill, and even learning.[6] I should be glad to know what other kind of our literature pleases you most; as now and then there appears something written in Latin, I could sent it in return for your many valuable communications.

We have now the certain News of a peace between Portugall and France. The definitive Treaty with the Emperor is near to be concluded. Mantua and Venice will not be ceded to him as it seems, but remain free. The new Republic in Italy encreases much. It may yet be called a new partition of Poland to a better

[5] Olaus Gerhard Tychsen's *De cuneatis inscriptionibus Persepolitanis lucubratio,* Rostochii, 1798. A copy, sent by Ebeling to Bentley, is in the Harvard Library. The colophon shows that it was printed in July, 1797. The author's colleague at Rostock, Samuel Simon Witte, wrote *Ueber den Ursprung der Pyramiden in Ægypten und der Ruinen von Persepolis,* 1789, and in 1792, *Vertheidigung seines Versuchs über den Ursprung der Pyramiden in Aegypten und der Ruinen von Persepolis und Palmyra.*

[6] Carsten Niebuhr (1733–1815).

purpose. It is a pity that the french Revolution does not go on more in the way of righteousness. But revolutions partake of the nature of war, and the french was intimately connected with a terrible one. We hope your quarrel with France will be over soon, as they now seem to follow better maxims, and the new Minister of foreign affairs, Bishop Talleyrand, has lived in America. But you will not purchase peace as all the other nations did, as you never were at war with France, who injured your commerce and independence. The peace with England will be the last and the negociation at Lille seems to be at a stand; perhaps the Dutch rejecting their new Constitution may have interrupted them.

We are very happy in our Corner of Europe, only that all is extremely dear, especially lodgings, servants etc.

I hope to hear always of your health, and am with great respect Reverend Sir Your most obedient Servant.

Excuse my joining the maps for Dr Morse to yours; it was only in order to avoid making many parcels or rolls which are easily miscarried.

To Dr. William Bentley.

Feb. 13, 1798.

. . . Our literature is at a stand, on account of that unhappy war continued by England and France with the same pertinacious fury unabated by all the misfortunes both nations suffer. You will see by the Newspapers that the French have occasioned also a Revolution in Switzerland. Happily without bloodshed, and I may add to the real benefit of Switzerland, where the Aristocracy of the Patricians of Bern was very tirannical and produced allready in 1745 a conspiracy not quenched without blood. At Zurich it was likewise prevailing, as never an inhabitant of the country was allowed to learn a trade in the towns, the trading Corporations being the governing part. You know of the terrible histories of Witches beheaded at Glarus ten years ago, of Governors loosing their live by wanton lawsuits begun against them by their rivals. There were great abuses crept into every Canton. Basil has been the first mending them. One of my Friends who was born at Hamburg, the Syndic of Basil Mr Ox [7] is at the head of the Revolution which costs allmost no property and no life at all.

Our Trade suffers terribly, but I hope Morality will gain by the by. Tho' I should not say so in a commercial Town. . . .

I regrett the shortness of my time, which prevents me to write more about the present situation of Germany. By the excellent

[7] Peter Ochs (1752–1821), born at Nantes of a Basle family.

Caracter the young King of Prussia [8] shews we are sure the peace of Rastadt will not quite overturn our Empire, but make some salutary changes. Tho' I fear the House of Austria (tho' it betrayed Germany after having lead it into war) will be rewarded with some secularised states, in order to preserve a ballance of power.

April 28, 1798.

. . . We have not yet peace, and perhaps are even at the beginning of a new more terrible war. You will see in the inclosed last Hambro' papers that the French Ambassador at Vienna suddenly left that City after a tumult undoubtedly provoked by him tho' not wilfully as he says. But we have seen the same proceeding at Rome. It is painfull to see that a Republic that promised so much happiness to Europe, brings over it the greatest distress. England pertinacious insisting upon retaining the Cape may be in some way the occasion for the continuance of this desolating war, but the evil lies deeper. Heaven forbid that France does not prevail over the excellent moral principles of the King of Prussia, who is all justice, and benevolence. You will remark in the Newspapers some of his orders and wise decisions, for example in the delicate Case of the Countess of Lichtenau [9] (the late Mistress of the King of Prussia his father [10]) who heaped up great treasures acquired by iniquity, and suppressed many worthy men by intrigue (so vile a creature, that being allready engaged with the King she was once here clandestinly, and dared to pay a visit late at night to one of my pupils, but was sent away by me at the entrance into the house, which she left with loud laughter, two young men being in company with her.)

The King has left her 4000 Dollars per annum, but relegated her to a fortress in Silesia. It is much to be regretted that his best friend Secretary Menken [11] is so sickly. He works continually with the King. The King in his Family lives like a common man, he calls the Queen *my wife* (mein Frau) and she calls him *mein Mann* even in public letters The liberty of the press is very great in Prussia, but not licentious. I wishd that our (permit me to say so) American Newspapers had no Auroras or Porcupine amongst them.

[8] Friedrich Wilhelm III (1770–1840).

[9] Wilhelmine Enke, countess of Lichtenau (1754–1820), mistress of Frederick William II, king of Prussia.

[10] Friedrich Wilhelm II (1744–1797).

[11] Anastasius Ludwig Mencken (1752–1801), whose daughter, Luise Wilhelmine, married in 1806, Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand von Bismarck and was mother of Prince Otto Edward Leopold von Bismarck.

I have sent by Mr Kahler (who will be so kind as to deliver you this) some contributions for the Historical Society viz. Books concerning America which I find they are not yet possessed of. There are some old german ones amongst them, whereof you will explain the general contents. I shall endeavor, to find out more, tho' we have not many, when they occurr in auctions.

September 15, 1798.

. . . The best news I can tell you is that we have reason to hope, that peace between Germany and France, as also between the Emperor and France will be preserved, and that the affairs at Rastat get a better turn. That Bonaparte is arrived at Alexandria is undoubtedly true. The letters in the newspapers under article of Constinople come by way of Vienna, and are not to be trusted much. All appearances let us hope that you will preserve peace likewise. You know that the French Minister Talleyrand has shewn to the Directory the unjust and absurd tenor of their capture-laws, and that the Directory recommended an entire change of them to the Legislature. Since that time several pamphlets appeared at Paris against the unjust proceedings of french privateers and the courts of law favouring them. One written by Berryer [12] is very energic. A collection of them, is now in print here, which I shall not fail to send you.

Sept. 16, 1798.

. . . We have nothing new of importance. Bonaparte is certainly in Egypt, and Nelsons fleet returned to Sicily without having met him. He is now in pursuit of the french fleet of war which is supposed to be returning from Alexandria. The prospect of peace is now again nearer, as it was lately. The Emperor made allways obstacles to the conclusion of the peace (which is attributed to english money given largely to the minister Thugut.[13] For the weak Emperor [Francis II] knows nothing of the real State of affairs) The french conditions of peace are indeed provoking, especially their pretension that all debts mortgaged on the countries ceded to them, shall be transferred to the lands on the right side of the Rhine, whereby many german princes would be entirely ruined. The French are seeing how much Germany wants peace. It is an allarming circumstance that the Emperors troops caused a far

[12] Berryer, Pierre Nicholas (1757–1841). The tract was: *Réflexions sur l'Etat de Defaveur des Pavillons neutres en France.*

[13] Johann Amadeus Franz de Paula Thugut (1736–1818).

greater ruin than the French. In Wirtemberg (dukedom) the States have published an account there of where the Austrian *debit* is the double of the French amounting to 12 millions of Guilders. Yet the inhabitants on the Rhine enriched but now spent their gain in foolish luxury of dress etc. as I have seen myself lately, when I was there. The last accounts from Rastadt, Paris and Vienna agree that the hope of peace is revived, even between France and Austria. That with you and the overbearing Republic is to be restored according to all what the french papers say. They begin in France to see how much they have injured themselves by their piratical sistem, and the manly resistance of your government I hope will bring them to reason. You will have read Talleyrands letter to the Directory advising a new System of capture-laws. The Directory recommended the same to the Legislature, who has not done as much as is necessary. It is only at present a progress in theory (but we hope as nihil est in voluntate quod non prius fuerit in intellectu) that they will change their abominable proceedings. I fear only that the government has no power to restrain the privateers and the Courts of law favoring them. That the Embargo laid on American ships is taken off in France you know. I long for news from your country whose Government is applauded throughout Europe on account of its wise measures. I think it is not to be feared that thereby they will too much adhere to the english Political System.

The news from Ireland let us fear a new eruption of the Rebellion, tho' Cornwallis [14] has entirely changed the cruel proceedings against the Irish. The last mail brought an account published by Government that General Lake [15] had been beaten near Castlebar by the French and lost many canons. You will find the relation in the newspapers. Other non-official accounts say that Cornwallis surrounded the French, which is not improbable, if they are not assisted by the inhabitants.

The northern Part of Europe is quiet. The King of Prussia continues to reign with wisdom, justice and love to his subjects and to peace. The Danish Government is very good too. What the russian Emperor [16] is doing or going to do is uncertain, as he allmost isolates his Empire from the rest of Europe. He ordered even all his subjects whereof many studied in German universities to return, tho' he has no University for them. He will erect one *at Interim* at Riga, but has only a few professors.

[14] Charles Cornwallis (1738–1805), Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

[15] Gerard Lake (1744–1808), who served with Cornwallis in America and India.

[16] Paul I (1754–1801).

The King of Naples [17] imitated America and is to put himself at the head of his troops and a new erected general militia in case of invasion. If there is no new war with Austria, Naples is not in danger.

You will excuse my dwelling so long upon politics. It is the great Talk of the day.

March 13, 1799.

. . . As to political Revolution no man of sense wishes (at least now) for a sudden one, nor intruded upon us by other with force of arms. We wish for reforms of abuses where they are. In Hamburg there are exceedingly few and our Government is calculated for the Happiness of all. The nobility will fall, as public opinion will not acknowledge them longer as a superior kind of beings. Property must remain inviolate. Prerogatives which are noxious may be abolished. Large standing armies will become dangerous to governments by themselves. The liberty of the press is in a good way in Danemarc, Prussia, Sweden and many parts of Germany. Licentiousness of the press should be no where. The State debts of the princes have their natural operation. The good princes have greatly reduced their expenses, they live more as they should have done allways, — the French Revolution has thought [taught] mighty truths to the great, and with more energy and effect where it did *not* reach, than in those lands which were overturned by its invasion.

But with all that we are not in security against revolutions when England obstinately refuses to make peace *without* conquests, and establishing the liberty of the sea; but in contrary endeavours to kindle a general continental war in order to derive [drive] the war from herself. — But I forbear of speaking politics. I am neutral, and only allied to those powers who respect the laws of nations, the rights of man, and pursue *peace*. There are very few of them now.

That war is breaking out a new in south Germany is a terrible truth; that it is owing to Russia a more terrible, and that Russia is excited by the Emigrants and the English is another. Heaven will grant steady perseverance in peace to the northern powers, otherwise Robison [18] will be in the right; it will be a Hobbesian bellum omnium contra omnes, and a long one. I hope our evil does not want *such* a cure, we can leave it better to be cured by time and the allmighty power of truth. . . .

[17] Ferdinand IV of Naples and I of the Two Sicilies (1751–1825.)

[18] John Robison (1739–1805), a Scot and author of *Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe, carried on in the secret meetings of Freemasons,* etc. 1797.

March 28, 1799.

. . . The letter from Paris bring today very interesting accounts, if true. The french Government has revoked and annulled all commissions of privateers. It would do infinite honour to the Directory. I have still great doubts, but if it is confirmed it is owed to the new Minister of the Marine Bruix [19] I suppose.

The circumstancial reports of a victory gained by prince Charles is quite false; on the contrary the french are in possession of the County of Grisons, where the aristocrates (the family of *Salis* [20]) have *not* assisted the Imperial troops as they boasted to do.

The Russians will do great mischief to Germany or Italy when they go thither. They are a more terrible scourge than even the French in their fury. . . .

I cannot omit to add a very important discovery made in the prussian Country. Mr Achard [21] at present Director of the prussian Academy of Sciences a celebrated chemist has discovered or rather verifyed a discovery of Marggraff [22] a like great chemist at Berlin that Sugar may be made very good and in great quantity from that sort of Turneps commonly called scarcity root, *Mangold* in German, which the foreigners took for *Mangel* scarcity. It is *Beta altissima* Beckmanni; not in Linné. 100 lb of these turneps əʌıʇ$\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{0}$ lb of good fine Sugar. They cultivate this root since a century in great quantity for cattle. The experiment is made in Upper Saxony, in Bronsvic with success. They hope as the culture is easy save and cheap to be able to provide for all the prussian country soon. If this succeeds it will be a severe blow for the Sugar colonies. If even only the common people get what they want it will be very hurtfull unless England and France make a sudden peace, in order to lower the price of Muscovado below that of the new invented.

The conditions of the Treaty made at Selz in consequence of that of Campo Formio have been printed lately. It appears that the Emperors Ministers, Cobenzel [23] etc. agreed with the French to evacuate Mayence and to help the French to get possession thereof immediately, before it was ceded by the empire. This needs no comment. The *secret* articles of the Convention are not yet in

[19] The French admiral Eustache Bruix (1759–1805).

[20] The representatives of the family at this time were Charles Ulysse de Salis (1728–1800) and Rodolphe Antoine Hubert, Baron de Salis (1732–1807).

[21] Franz Karl Achard (1753–1821).

[22] Andreas Sigismund Marggraf (1709–1782).

[23] Ludwig, Graf Cobenzl (1753–1808).

print; but no mistery at several great courts, who are surprised at them. You find the articles in the last gazettes of Hamburg I send you. . . .

September 7, 1799.

A few political pamphlets will prove acceptable especially those written at Rastadt by many present Embassadors about the murder of Debry and Roberjot.[24] The last I knew; he was a man of noble principles and acted as he thought. He learned German and I lent him many books on our literature, oeconomy and statistics which he studied. When he went away he was ardent for contributing to the restoration of peace. The inquisition about the murder was not made on the spot, nor immediately, by those who were the most interested to enquire, but brought at last before the german diet, whose slowness is known to all the world. These left it entirely to the Emperor. Since that time nothing has transpired. Nobody knows were [where] their papers are; those of an intercepted Courier [of] the Embassadors fell into the hands of imperial troops. The officers accused in some way by the report of the foreign Ministers at Rastadt have not been imprisoned or tried, as far as we ever know.

But I must leave all the political affairs to the Newspapers. That these are at present entirely confined to the Relations of one side you will observe. Those of Berlin and of Bamberg are still written with some freedom. . . .

To Rev. John Eliot.

September 9, 1799.

. . . Capt Joy I had not the pleasure to see, but am told that he arrived save.

. . . The French begin to change their politics somewhat to the better. The present Minister *Reinhard*[25] is an excellent man of peaceable and just principles. As he married here the daughter of my worthy collegue Dr Reimarus[26] (the same who published his Fathers excellent Books on Religion, and on the Instinct of Animals translated into french, dutch and english) I am intimately ac-

[24] Jean Antoine Joseph Debry (1760–1834); Claude Roberjot (1753–1799). Debry, grievously wounded, escaped death, but the third French representative, Ange Elisabeth Louis Antoine Bonnier d'Arco, was killed.

[25] Count Charles Frédéric Reinhard (1761–1837).

[26] Johann Albert Heinrich Reimarus (1729–1814), son of Hermann Samuel Reimarus (1694–1768).

quainted with him. What he is able to do for restoring peace he will certainly do but he is subordinate. Sieyes is well thought of also, and dear-bought experience taught France.

Discite justitiam moniti.

The other powers at war have not been instructed by the same school and the bloodshed in Italy and Switzerland is as terrible as the devastation of those lands. Now Holland experiences the same fate. Heaven preserve us and our neutral neighbours. You cannot imagine what means from every side are contrived and used to excite the King of Prussia, as to Sweden and Danemarc, even unwise ones, such as public affronts in Declarations and Manifestoes But the good, religious, and peaceable tho' powerfull King of Prussia is a rock in the middle of furious wages [waves?]. The base surrender of the dutch Fleet you have heard of. But this war is full of treachery and spoil, and I may add Shakespears.

let no such warfaring nations be trusted.[27]

Yours news paper writers seem to breathe nothing but war, but I hope they will stand single and your country will preserve peace by its manly exertions. I am sorry that some of your authors even such as Dr Dwight [28] have been frightened by the bugbear of Illuminatism sent over from England. We consider it as exstinct and even stillborn It was an Inst[it]ution which when rightly conducted may have had good effect in such a bigot Roman Catholic Country as Bavaria was, and it really has done some good there, even thro' the persecution of Illuminati, but we never feared it could affect any of our protestant States, where such Reformations were entirely superfluous and inapplicable. The Chief Illuminate, Weishaupt,[29] in his younger years by no means an exemplary man, but now living irreproachably found a quiet refuge in the Residence of the Duke of Gotha,[30] a true friend of Science and Religion and no fantastical man as Robison calumniates him to be. Several of the Illuminati at Munchen pers[e]cuted formerly have been restored to their employments by the present Elector, who is a man of parts, and no friend to Revolutions.

In our political world the secret Articles of Selz, proposed as preliminaries of peace by the Emperors Ministers make great im-

[27] Not found in Shakespeare.

[28] President Timothy Dwight (1752–1817). The reference is to his sermon, *The Duty of Americans at the Present Crisis*, July 4, 1798.

[29] Adam Weishaupt (1748–1830).

[30] Ernst II (1745–1804).

pression. I will not pretend that all copies are equally genuine, but all agree in the propositions made *to* the French to cede upper Italy, or the Country of the Grisons to the Emperor, to occupy and divide Piemont, to indemnify the Kings of Sardinia and Naples by the State of the Church; and the secret articles of Formio and of Rastadt seem to prepare such events, and stipulate the withdrawing the Emperors Troops from the fortresses of Mayence and Ehrenbreitstein now occupied by the French. This needs no commentary. The murder of the French ambassadors is not cleared up, tho' without doubt very unjustly imputed to the Emperors orders, who certainly is a prince incapable of any inhumanity, especially such atrocious one. But there are as many open as hidden atrocities in this terrible war of Revolution. I am sincerely Your much obliged Friend and Servant.

To Dr. Bentley.

September 14, 1799.

. . . I forgott to ask you a favour. In Salem Gazette Nr 772 I found a spurious Letter of our worthy Bard Mr Klopstock.[31] This is absolutely a false one. He did *not* send back his Diplom as Citizen, but wrote a very manly letter to Roland wherein he tells them his joy of being honoured with the citizenship in the most expressive terms. This Letter is to be found in Archenholz's Minerva 1793. T. 1. The Author gave it to the publisher himself. The new Odes of Klopstock prove how very much notwithstanding he reprobates the lust of conquest, the injustices, the irreligion of the government, but he does [not] accuse the nation for that, nor does he think the French Revolution was to be cursed in its beginning and its *first* principles. But because they abandoned these principles he once calls them "*Freiheitsmörder*" . . .

Klopstock's Letter is dated Nov. 19, 1792, l'an 1 de la République françoise. It begins:

"Salut et couronnes civiques à Roland, Ministre de la Rep. franc. de la part de Klopstock, citoyen françois. Il est impossible de *mériter* l'honneur que reçoit un étranger, auquel l'Assemblée nationale de France defere le titre de citoyen — La seule chose, qui l'en puisse rendre digne jusqu'à un certain point, c'est son civisme anterieur à cette elevation etc."

He afterwards quotes his Odes in praise of the French Revolution (you observe that of the first years 1790–92). Then he mentions his correspondence with Rochefoucauld whom he praises,

[31] Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock (1724–1803).

with La Fayette; his ode sent to the Duke of Bronsvic July 1792 with a Letter wherein he exhorts him to lay down the command against France. He adds

" Etant citoyen François je fais aujourdhui mon premier devoir de citoyen. Car comme tel je sais avec certitude, qu'il est d'une necessité absolue, que la nation punisse les meurtriers d'Avignon, et ceux de Paris, qui l'ont été si eminement le 2 Septembre. Les Allemans ne voient que ces horreurs etc. — J'ai dit une verité très vraye à Roland. Mais j'aime mes devoirs et je continue." He adds praises of the King of Danemarc [32] and his love of true liberty and of peace. He blames the French, " qu'il y a tant de François, qui ont un penchant comme il paroit presque invincible, de commander là, où ils devoient obéir." At the end he rejoices that it was Roland, who was ordered to send him the decrée of citizenship."
and finishes with these words:

" Cette belle loi (je suis naturellement un peu prevenu pour elle) m'a fait concitoyen de Washington."

In stead of this letter your gazettes forge an other in the Stile of a Schoolmaster. I wish I could translate some of Klopstock's many Odes on the French revolution; which would prove you how much he detests all cruelties from the murder of the King to the late robberies; but all this made him not revoke his former opinions founded in truth as well as his p[*paper torn*].

To Rev. John Eliot.

July 26, 1800.

. . . Our political State seems to incline to peace, at least in Germany, if only England will not hinder it. You will hear of the Truce made between Moreau and Kray [33] July 15. The French thereby remain in the possession of the lately occupied Country of the Grisons, the important Posts of the County of Bregenz, whole Suabia, the greatest part of Bavaria, as far as to the confluence of the Wils [34] with the Danube, that part of Franconia on the left side of the Rednitz as far as the Maine (the neutral prussian countries excepted) and all what they on the 15th of July had occupied on the left side of the lower Rhine. The three fortresses Ingolstadt, Ulm, and Philipsburg shall remain to the Austrians, under certain conditions. The truce to be recalled 12 days before

[32] Christian VII (1749–1808).

[33] Jean Victor Moreau (1763–1813), and Paul, freiherr von Kray Krajowa (1735–1807).

[34] Ilz?

beginning new hostilities. This we hope will give us peace. There is no doubt Bonaparte is earnestly inclined to it.

But what shall we say when at London the Courier de Londres dares to say that peace will be a *public curse,* and the certain *ruin* of all Europe! What hue and cry would arise if such thing was sayd at Paris? You see Iliacos intra muros peccatur et extra.[35] You will perhaps wonder what gave such a new turn in favour of the french affairs. It is nothing but that the government of the 5 Directors is at an end; all goes the former way, such men as Carnot, Bonaparte, Moreau, Berthier, Massena [36] working together; had that been the case before, Suwarow [37] with all his terrors would not have succeeded *so* well, as he did. What made the sudden change with Russia, is not well known. This great Country is allmost entirely separated from the rest of Europe now. No foreign Books, nor even Music-books are allowed to be imported thither, no political matters are touched at in letters written from thence. The government goes on with strict exactitude and severity, perhaps required by the genius of the Nation and the times. The Danish, Prussian and Swedish Government keep to their wise neutrality and prosper visibly thereby. It must be a pleasure to see that emulation of these governments to rule well their people, to give as much liberty as possible and ease the burthens of the subjects. . . .

[*Marginal note:*] I take the liberty to join a parcel of german Newspapers for Mr Kähler [38] a Merchant of your place. If you are acquainted with him, he will communicate to you in return the remarkable events that lately took place in Italy, in Bavaria, and in the Country of the Grisons, the continual progresses there by Bonaparte, Moreau and lately by Lecourbe.[39]

Aug. 9, 1800.

. . . I have only time to add that the happy news of the preliminaries being signed at Paris between France and Austria arrived by way of the Hague yesterday whither they were brought officially and published by the Government. You will have heard of the English taking a Danish Merchant Fleet which was under convoy of a Fregat, who fought gallantly for half an hour, but was

[35] That is, Both sides are to blame, Horace, *Epistola* I. 12

[36] Lazare Nicolas Marguerite Carnot (1753–1823); Alexandre Berthier (1753–1813); and André Masséna, duc de Rivoli (1758–1817).

[37] Alexandre Vasilievich Suvárov (1729–1800).

[38] Jeremiah Kahler, living on Summer Street.

[39] Claude Jacques Lecourbe (1759–1815).

forced to strike to four men of war of the Ennemy. It was found that the Fleet had not any thing contraband on board. What this means if no absolute despotism of the ocean is meant, will be difficult to explain.

To Dr. Bentley.

April 14, 1801.

. . . England is greatly troubled. Tho the sudden death of Paul I, Emperor relieves her from a great ennemy.[40] You will have h[e]ard how bravely the Danes fought on April 4th against Nelson's superiority and that he suffered as much as them, in the end of the terrible battle proposed a truce, acknowledging that *he* never saw such battle. This truce has been prolongued for 14 weeks lately. More you will see by the Newspapers I send you. The new Emperor Alexander[41] has proposed peace to England under condition of releasing the embargoed danish and swedish Ships. The Danes withstood the terrible attack single, like heroes. Nelson is now in the Sound burning one of the scattered disabled Ships after another. The Danes lost many of their Block ships too, and two of the line. Two of Nelsons Ships had struck, but were one hour after relieved by Parkers sending them assistance. The truce is on condition that trade is free, that Danemark does *not* renounce to them Allied Neutrality, that Nelson may *purchase* victuals, but *not* be assisted in refitting his Ships. The Prussians have occupied the Hanoverian Country at interim by a Treaty. We have a danish Garrison on two gates, besides our own in the others, but none in Town. The Commander desired we should furnish them victuals etc at *our* cost, but the danish just and equitable Government disavowed his proceedings. The Danes will be worth the admiration and love of the Universe, by their brave, just and humane behaviour. Nelson publickly acknowledges this. Now we may see whether other Realms will play the french Revolution principles once more, or whether they will discere justiciam moniti.

April 17, 1801.

. . . That the occupation of our town by the Danes means no harm to our liberty is not to be doubted. The General commanding the troups who are on our ramparts (not quartered in the town) had made requisitions of money, victuals, but though we conceded All, it was quite disavowed by the just danish Govern-

[40] He was murdered March 11, 1801.
[41] Alexander (1777–1825).

ment. We don't even remark that foreign troups are with us. They have occupied the gates, but ours have still the internal guard houses, and several out posts, even those next Altona. The gallant defense of the Danes against Nelson deserves universal admiration and is publickly praised by great Nelson himself.

The sudden death of Emperor Paul may be a promotor of peace. This death is, as usual, ascribed to poison, but an apoplexy may take away a man of very hot temper as well, without the intervention of a fictitious english bribed party and such like rumours. The new Emperor is much praised for his good intelligent mind and for his mild temper; not so his brother Constantin.[42] His first beginning is very much on liberal principles. The same ministers almost remain. The ouvertures for peace he is said to have made to England do not change anything in the measures of the armed neutrality. The Danish Convention of Truce is honorable to them. Nelson's fleet has suffered as well as the danish; but they have reinforcement at hand. We hope the truce will pave the way to peace; so the negociations between Engl and France. Governments must at last learn that conquests and victories gives no happiness to their people, nor to the rulers themselves. . . .

July 12, 1801.

. . . As to our political News I cannot say much. The Newspapers will tell you all. The Danes have left us, and behaved exceedingly well; we scarce knew we had foreign garrison. The little Expences they caused in the beginning was properly none, for they expended it in the town or suburbs, and their own pay too. The brave behaviour of the Danes against an oppressing superiority of experienced wariors is not enough to be praised. The english Newspapers dare not confess all what they know. Yet Nelson speaks of *such a battle.* Had the three powers joined in the defension of the Sound the English would not ever make use of the word Victory. But all was done in a hurry, and the whole Alliance made known too early before winter was over. Paul's decease yet seems to have spared much bloodshed and great destruction of commerce. . . .

To Rev. John Eliot.

July 14, 1801.

. . . Our hopes of a general Peace are still frustrated. But the present english Ministry seems to wish it. The northern powers

[42] Constantine Pavlovich (1779–1831).

have concluded their peace with England. Something has been gained for the Interests of humanity. Privateers are not allowed to visit Ships sailing under Convoy etc. The great Object of the Armed Neutrality to make war at Sea as humane towards unarmed people and private persons as the law of Nations makes the land by war [war by land] to unarmed subjects and their property — has not been quite obtained. We wonder in Europe how some writers of your Newspapers could be so entirely lost to all sense of liberty and humanity as to deny that the respecting the neutral flag, especially when under the public garantie of a State by a Convoy would be a great and general benefit to mankind. It must be the work of an english Pen, not of an American. That the very noble and great exertions of the Danes against Nelsons superior power was not fully done justice to, is no wonder. You should have had the reports as published in german Newspapers by impartial eye witnesses. The English Newspapers even those of the Opposition gave partial and very imperfect Accounts. It is absolutely false that the people at Copenhagen bid Nelson welcome by acclamations. They used quite contrary language, mixing low cursing, with *no treaty, no convention!* Nelson even himself is obliged to speak of *such a battle.* The burning of so many disabled english Ships three or four days after the battle, the returning of many others to England, the great reinforcements sent, the *proposed* armistice all are proofs of no great victory, or of a very dear bought. If the Convention of the Armed Neutrality had not been published too soon by the desire of Paul, if the swedish and russian fleets had been ready to assist the Danes, and the English not been able to prevent their junction all would have bore quite an other aspect. Though I fear the hot temper of the R. Emperor and his whims would have spoiled what the other Powers made good. Thank be God all is over. . . .

We are continuing the War here but only by ink and paper. There was published at Altona by a danish insignificant Flatterer to Government a pamphlet in order to prove that Hambro best policy would be to submit to danish Government as a protected Town, retaining its own form of Government, but paying a tribute for protection. One of our ablest writers published a refutation: "Hamburgh's best Security and Luck not from abroad." Now there appear three new pamphlets against our independency, which notwithstanding will be obtained. The best is that the Danes left us, that they behaved very well, made no exactions requisitions (at first their Commander did, but was not supported by his Government on our refusing to comply.) The stopping of our trade

was certainly very disagreeable, yet to be borne for the common benefit of humanity and a lesser burthen than was laid on many other people on the continent during this terrible war. . . .

November 19, 1804.

I have written enough about political affairs and you will know the most by the Gazettes. The newest is that the English Resident Mr. Rumbold [43] is released by the French Emperor and gone to England by way of Cherbourg. The intercession of the King of Prussia has effected this. The Elbe begins to be opened in some way, at least for ships in ballast etc. The French troops behave very well in the Hannoverian country, and was it not for the heavy contributions and requisitions, and the still more heavy exactions of the Commissaries of war, which make that country quite undone, the war would be a tolerable state for the inhabitants. There are reports that the country is to be evacuated and the King of Prussia is to take it *en depot,* but it seems not likely the truth. The coronation of the new Emperor is to be very splendid and magnificent. Some newspapers say it will require a new tax of 100 and more millions, which certainly is extremely overcharged or rather overated in the report. No expectations neither of peace, nor fears of a new war. But all that is nothing to us. Our city suffers exceedingly by the great restriction and consequently diminution of trade. You will see by one of the latest Addresskomtors Nachrichten in what a wise manner our Ins[ti]tution for the poor prevented the unhappy effects of poverty at its increasing by the present conjunctures. The dearness of every thing, especially of the house rent is enormous. I must pay the third part of my income for a small house which I do not inhabit even entire. Only the very large ones have diminished a little in rent since the return of the dutch emigrants etc. to their country. . . .

To Dr. Bentley.

Altstadt, April 20, 1807.

. . . Since my last letter the state of our distracted Country. It is unsafe to write even facts, otherwise I could furnish you a great many which are not mentioned in our Gazettes who by prudence are and must be only of one party, and copy nothing but what is published by them. All accounts of the opposite party don't reach us, or if they do are not allowed to be published. Our

[43] Sir George Berriman Rumbold (1764–1807).

situation as to the miseries of war is happy enough; but who can warrant that the scene of this quite extraordinary war will never be hereabout! At present more than 200000 men are near the Vistule in Poland opposite to one another in a country absolutely ruined by the continual battles, fights, which are called victories from both parts and seem to have no consequences, but the loss of many thousand lives; the inhabitants of that country are to be set at liberty, but at the expense of all what they possess, the soil excepted, if they survive the continual and most terrible calamities. All the conquered lands are exhausted by paying exorbitant contributions, by continual requisitions, by victualling the troops marching thro' their towns and villages and all that at a time when trade is disturbed and stopped every where, when all is exceedingly dear, and even the necessaries of live not to be got at any rate. We cannot complain to be treated as ennemies but we must contribute as if we were part of the belligerent powers. What is a great consolation in these calamities is the excellent discipline observed by the troops when on their quiet marches or in quarters. It lies in human nature, that man when exalted into fury by battles, storming or forcing of towns, or by attacks, is not to be ruled, but woe to the places where such things happen, and where the seat of war is fixed! The northern part of lower Saxony is now not much disturbed. Dutch troops are marching to the northeast through it. They write from Hambrough that all the garrison left them There will be a camp as is reported near Schwerin. The siege of Colberg (a small fortress on the baltic which in the seven years war resisted to the Russians several years) has been raised lately and the corps returned to renew the Siege of Stralsund a very important Fortress very obstinately defended by the Swedes several times and also now. They from thence made lately an excursion to Rostock where the dutch Garrison was made prisoners. All such things decide nothing as even such a terrible massacre as the battle of Eylau was undecisive.

The reports concerning the war with the Turcs are very contradictory yet it seems, that the english Fleet returned and left the black sea. The loss of that branch of trade will be severely felt from both sides and as Constantinople gets its provisions from Egypt (rice) and from Moldavia and Walachia a great starving must ensue unless the Russians cannot be driven from those countries (which has been attempted invain) and the english Fleet mantains it station. When all these great convulsions will be over, and how they will end, heaven only knows. It is a great fortune that religious fury is now out of custom, otherwise we would have

all the horrors of the 30 years war. So kind heaven even directs irreligion or religious indifference to alleviate our misfortunes. What was properly the true occasion of all these reversions in the North of Germany, is not easily to be determined. As the faults of Austria committed and derided in the year 1803 by the Prussians have been repeated and even out-rivalled by them in 1806 seems to be incredible. Certainly there is some hidden treachery or blindness who knows where? It cannot be denied that the latter fought exceedingly bravely but there was misconduct in their rulers. We have received just now the prussian Account of the battles of Jena and Auerstadt (for there were two near one another on the same day) 5 months after the affairs. I cannot pretend that it will be printed in any of the neighbouring Gazettes, at least not in any of those published at Hamburgh, Altona etc. This account shews that neither the unhappy Duke of Brunsvic nor the prince of Hohenlohe [44] were Traitors or neglected their duty. A principal cause of the disaster seems to be the want of proper intelligence of the march and strength of the Ennemy. What necessity there was to provoke such a powerfull, active ennemy, with inferior force, without expecting the approach of the allies (if they were ready for succur) is not mentioned. But that battle was big with terrible endless consequences for many states countries and men. More than any that History knows of. . . .

He concludes with a few notes in regard to literary affairs and the number of new books to be found at the Easter Leipzig fair. Referring to his own work he says, "My cousin's Geography of Portugal will but appear in the month of May. That being finished, he writes me, that he will return to America." He takes the precaution of signing himself Your affectionate friend and Countryman Close Brown," and adds as a postscript:

All this was not written for your use. If extracts were to be made public you must not mention any names of place or writer nor communicate this letter to whomsoever. We live in a very dangerous time and situation where the most innocent news are perverted into crimes, even to those who certainly are impartial, and have not the least interest in espousing the cause of the Opposers, and who only wish for peace, which even the mighty cannot give to the world. You have been threatened too with a civil war, but Burr surrendered as it is reported. I wish to hear your opinion thereon.

[44] Frèdrich Ludwig, Prince of Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen (1746–1818).

August 12, 1807.

. . . At the moment when I write, a Body Corps of Spaniards of many thousands is quartered into our Town, tho' absolutely a neutral one, and we are forced to nourish and accommodate them, after having given Millions and great Requisitions in Clothes etc. — all the Consequences of an unhappy Idea of the Prussian King to withstand alone and single the power of the most powerfull. [*Marginal note:* The Spaniards behaved exceedingly well, whereever they came. They are contend with very little, never molest their landlord.] What will be the end of all that Heaven only knews. Universal misery is one of the dreaded consequences. But I cannot dwell upon these topics. I send you newspapers, which were not allowed to tell the truth, particularly ours. Now and then it transpires. The battle of Friedland has procured a peace to Russia and Prussia, but a very humbling one to the last, whose King is one of the best men, but not a great General and Warrior. Had the English send their Fleets and Troops as they now so strenuously do *post festum,* to the relief of Danzic all would have been quite otherwise. But more of all this, when peace returns, which I shall not live perhaps to see. . . .

In a postscript after speaking of the Description of Portugal upon which he has been at work and of further work on Spain and England which is projected, he adds:

The rest of Europe is indiscribible, as all depends on the whims and humor of a single man, now the vice-director of the world. Heaven beware good America when Europe has recovered peace. Louisiana will be the first pomum Eridos between the United States and . . . I wish my prophecy may be false. . . .

September 26, 1809.

. . . As to the Gazettes those of Berlin since the evacuation of the Country by the ennemies, may be in some way relied upon. All others are under the restrictions of very anxious censorship. It is not even allowed to publish the Acts, Manifestos, Proclamations of the antigallican, not their Relations of Battles etc without omitting all what may in the least way be thought prejudicial to the other party. So you see they cannot be, as formerly, collections of materials for future Historians, From England, Spain etc it is not allowed to insert any thing, which has not appeared before in french papers. This precaution is necessary in our present situation, when all intercourse with England and its few allies is interrupted. . . .

I cannot dwell upon politics, but I must observe that the state of Europe especially of Germany and the Northern Powers is quite misunderstood beyond the atlantic. The total ruin of Europe is the natural consequence of the prevailing disunion, jealousies and mistrust of those powers who were or should have been allied in order to withstand the steadfast plan of conquering genius. Even the treachery of one of those allies is not remarked tho' it is evident enough; all attention by fine manœuvres is turned towards a ministry steadfast in its designs, but uncertain and undeterminate in its plans, and very slow in executing them. On the opposite side all is the contrary. The total Ruin of Europe is not intended, but is an unavoidable consequence, approaching very fast. Unhappily, most unhappily this ruin will be accompanied with the return of barbary, with the destruction of learning and sciences those parts excepted which are inservient to the military System which is now establishing every where to the destruction of civil Society and all its blessings. What effects the allmost universall restriction or even annihilation of Commerce will have is easily to be seen. It must be of uncalculable consequences on the Finances of the Princes, brings on an enormous hight of taxes, cutting of at the same time the principal ressource which enables the subjects to bear them. Men who are deprived of every comfort of life, must at the end become slaves. So the military despotism of the middle age will return, only in a modern shape. I avoid to give you the proofs of what I say. They are before our eyes. One measure belonging to literature, I will mention. In the Kingdom of Westphalia there were 5 Universities most of them of ancient standing and flourishing in diverse degrees, well endowed and provided with the best Professors and learned men, with Libraries, Museums. The finances of the new master of many different, but all exhausted countries, suffering exceedingly by the tribute which the new Realm is paying to its Founder by the splendour of the Court of the new Ruler, by the great exertions in the war-departement which must maintain an excessive great army, auxiliary to the views of the Founder, it is at last resolved, as the Universities coast the State about $\frac{1}{2}$ million, to suppress 3 out of 5. to make military schools of some etc. So several 100 learned men will be obliged either to emigrate, or to perish by famine, or to subsist of what may be allowed to them graciously for a genteel starving. Göttingen and Halle shall remain, certainly the most important of them. But the former ruined in 1806 in order to revenge some extravagancies of inconsiderate patriotism of some students, and the last lately suffering exceedingly by the over rigourous measures of a Minister of State, who

superintendents the Universities so that more than 400 students emigrated at once incited by some worthless Students who were expelled deservedly from that University as not obe[y]ing wholesome laws. The suppressed lesser Universities were the Seminary of the greater ones and contributed very much to disseminate sound learning in the Northern and Middle parts of Germany. They are Rinteln, Helmstädt and Marpurg. The Minister who voted for their Suppression was lately himself Professor at Göttingen. His predecessor, Mr von Müller,[45] the Author of an excellent History of Helvetia or Switzerland, a man of great parts and of a noble heart, died lately by premature death. He strove to maintain all those establishments of literature, but invain. . . .

To Rev. John Eliot.

Glückstadt, Nov. 27, 1809.

Reverend Sir. — I avail myself of the Kind of your worthy Countryman, Mr Webb, to send you another small parcell of Books for the Historical Society, wishing that my mites may be acceptable. If God's grace lets me live till peace is restored, I shall be able to do more. I have joined a well done historical Table-book, only to shew you how even in these bad times we go on in typography. The book has been printed at Hambro. There are some splendid Editions now and lately published at Leipsic vying with the best Birmingham, Foulis and Didots printings at Paris. There was lately published a greek new testament in 4 large quarto volumes with excellent engravings on vellum paper The Text was revised by one of our most learned Divines, Dr Griesbach [46] at Jena. with variant lessons. The price is somewhat high 80 Dollars. Klopstocks Poems are published by the same Bookseller of which appeared 7 Volumes in 4 and large 8vo in the same manner. I am about to prepare the 8t ı to the press as my intimate friend and next neighbor, late Mr Klopstok left his Manuscripts to me for that purpose. Wielands Works were many years ago published in the same splendid manner in 30 volumes [47] This Nestor of our Parnassus is still living at Weimar and has lately begun an excellent translation of Cicero's Epistles with a very instructive commentary. Bonaparte after the Battle of Jena conversed several hours with him. Certainly it was known to him that our author in

[45] Johannes von Müller (1752–1809).

[46] Johann Jacob Griesbach (1745–1812).

[47] Between 1792 and 1802 thirty-six volumes of his collected writings were published and six supplemental volumes were added. Wieland died January 20, 1813.

his Dialogues predicted that B would end the french Revolution as August did the roman civil wars. This he said when B was still in Egypt.

I have communicated to our worthy Heyne your desire of knowing how he did, he thanks you very much for that kind remembrance. He enjoys good health and has made himself free from writing public accounts at annual Solemnities, Birthdays of the King etc. as they would subject him to censorship, having 45 years written those accounts etc without such restraint. He escaped to the indignity offered to him.

The University at Goettingen goes on in a better way as some years since The funds have been restored. But Helmstaedt, Rinteln and Marpurg are to be entirely reduced, happily if the many professors there get pensions from the mighty hand that annihilates them. The Bavarian protestant University at Altorf formerly belonging to the late Republic of Nurenberg, is to be abolished. The protestant Bavarians are allowed to study in foreign protestant Universities but must beforehand have implored permission. In Bavaria it is not intolerance that dictates this measure, but want of money. In Westphalia Kingdom the same prevails; perhaps also some envy as two of the Kings Ministers were some years ago professors at Göttingen. Five Universities for so small a Kingdom is a little to much in the eyes of french Mecenates. I refer to Mr Villers [48] very able performance which I sent you by Capt Hopkins of your congregation.

I heartily wish that there may be left open the commercial connexion with Germany or rather Danemarc (for Tönningen is no more part of Germany) and the Hanse towns. Then I hope also to get many American Books I am wanting of. I wish that a Bookseller there would enter with me in a litterary commerce so as to sent me Books Maps Pamphlets I wrote for, to have them insured in America and to receive immediate payment of their value, insurance, etc on delivery. In that way none of us, would run any risk. I am sensible that insurance would be somewhat high on so little conveyances. But the whole correspondence would be very easy. I have offered it to a former correspondent at Philadelphia, Mr Cary,[49] a very worthy active man, but got not yet any answer.

You see that this unhappy war affects even the interests of individuals living in a quite neutral part of the world. What the end will be of all that misery heaven knows. A great revolution,

[48] Charles François Dominique Villers (1765–1815). *Coup d'Oeil sur les Universités et le Mode d'Instruction de l'Allemagne protestante.* Cassel, 1808.

[49] Mathew Carey (1760–1839).

whether immediately or mediately to a better state we must leave to Providence who knows to turn to mankinds advantage what men intended to make evil. To be subject to foreign Rulers who adapt all to their national narrow fancies, not knowing the language, genius, manners of the different nations groaning under their yoke — is allways a lamentable situation. But the total suppression of all activity depending of commerce and manufactures both suddenly at a stand and at the mercy of warfare is still more lamentable. All this would have been avoided if in the beginning they had not intermeddled in the french revolution and as soon as they resolved to do, had been more honest to one another. The late voluptuous weak King of Prussia and the unwise political principles of his miserable Ministry were the first occasion of mischief. Thirst of aggrandisement was their instinct; this they wished to quench in the last unjust division of Poland and afterwards by invading the Hanover country. The present King of Prussia, of a very honest enlightened mind was mislead to continue this System in some way. The Emperor of Austria [50] was in the fetters of bigottry and had no firmity, tho' his personal caracter is good. Alexander, who could have withstood the increasing mightyness of France was to young, his possession of the russian throne not firm enough, he could not employ all his force, and by the weakness of Austria after the loss of a single battle was disgusted. B subtle as he is knew to make peace at a proper time, with seeming generosity of mind, knew to terrify and to persuade; this brought on the first and second peace with Austria as that of Tilsit. The greatest misfortune was the want of a great General with full powers. There was no doubt but that the battle of Eylau was won by the Russians and Prussians, but the Russian general ordered to retire! and when the french retired also none pursued them. This inactivity is adscribed to bribery. The British have commonly thwarted the best situations. In the first coalition they gave the command to the miserable D. of York [1] the worst General that ever appeared in the field. The same was entrusted with the command when the English and Russians invaded Holland. When Prussia unexpectedly dared to oppose alone its forces to the infinitely more experienced ones of France, the English at last offered alliance the day before the battle of Jena. It is a mystery why the King of Pr. dared to oppose such Power without having joined his army with the russian, but it is certain that they were persuaded by Lucchesini,[2] a traitor, that B.

[50] Francis I (1765–1835).
[1] Frederick Augustus (1763–1827).
[2] Jérôme, marquis de Lucchesini (1752–1825).

wished by all means to avoid a war with Prussia, and that they persuaded themselves that they were still the army of Frederic. In this last war, when instead of sending so great a force to the Hospitals in Zeeland, the same was sent two months earlier to Lower Saxony 30000 would have in a few weeks accrued to 50000 and in two month to 80000 if furnished with weapons, stores and able generals, but the [leaders] ought to have been germans. All the Westphalians, Hanoverians, Brunswickers would have joined them. Danemarc was easily to be awed by a fleet. In the mean time the Austrians under very able generals and in high Spirits were relieved by a mighty diversion. But the English think their money is sufficient to all. You will see how they assist the brave unhappy Spaniards. (The Newspapers will tell you how Blake [3] duped the ennemy at Girona lately.)

The principal thing was to have Russia entirely on their side. It was no wonder that Paul broke with them. But they should have avoided to quarrel with the haughty Russians at Ancona etc. Alexander was entirely in their interest untill the unhappy attack of Copenhague. There is no doubt that this was done in consequence of a false insinuation of the French that Danemarc was to cede them her fleet. It was given to one of the english Spies and he denouncd it, perhaps with an advice to prevent the French in that quarter. This was unjustly done, and Alexander who was not informed of the plan, not made intimate with it in due time, became an enemy to England. No man knew better how to avail himself of that occasion. This occasioned the interview at Erfurt where the feeble Russian was enticed by the prospect of conquering Finland, and Constantinople and to adopt the plan of establishing two ruling powers in Europe one to the west, the other to the east, with intermediate depending princes, reduced to due insignificance. I think this is the whole mystery laid open, not losing sight of the great Generalship of B and his subject generals, of french diplomatical arts and superiority, and the new manner of making war at the expence of other countries and even with foreign soldiers employed at long distance from their country.

You see how I loose myself in the meanders of late wars, coalitions and all the miseries of Europe. Old age may be pardoned to ramble about with Ideas. But I break of, wishing you and your country all prosperity, particularly to the latter that union, whose want ruind Europe. With great esteem [*torn*]ly Yours.

G.

[3] Joaquín Blake (1772–1827).

J. B. to Rev. John Eliot.

Reverend Sir, — The inclosed letter [4] is written by an old man of 70 years who speaks out his mind freely, and confidently. You will not have it printed as it is here written down, tho' its contents are no mysteries. The name of the author, he trusts will never be mentioned. Respectfully Yours

J. B.

To Dr. Bentley.

April 2, 1810.

. . . We are in hopes that the marriage of the Emperor N. with the Austrian princess will open the door to peace. Continental peace is restored but not continental happiness, all groans still under the heavy weight of military occupation, of excessive dearness, of the almost entire interruption of trade by sea with every nation. All business, even literary, is at a stand all liberty seems to be lost, above all that of the press, — the greater will be the joy of those who outlive the return of all the blessings we are now deprived of. . . .

To Rev. John Eliot.

July 31, 1810.

. . . Many of our merchants in almost every town of Germany are at the brink of ruin, others entirely undone, and the number of poor increases terribly in every place. There where the model of all provisions for the poor are said to [be] made, at Hambro' the number is more than doubled, and the contributions for the institution much reduced. The states of Germany are in no better situation as the sale of their produces is much lessened, some few manufactures prosper, who are producing those kinds of stuffs which England formerly furnished, so many cloth manuf in France. All at the expence of millions of people quite thrown out of their business. The great changes in those countries either subdued by the prevailing power or dependent from it, or sighing under the consequences of former wars, occasions great many reductions of offices and curtailings or annihilating of salaries; others must contribute to the entertainment, nourishment and even pay of foreign soldiers and of their much increased own. So the Hansetowns nourish, cloth and pay a whole division of the fr army. The Hannoverian Country now incorporated into the Kingdom of Westf. is in the greatest misery. Heaven knows, how that *can* end. . . .

[4] This refers to the preceding letter of Nov. 27, 1809.

TO DR. BENTLEY.

August 1, 1810.

. . . I wished to give you good news from hence or from our country and Germany. We are everywhere at peace but the warfare begins now to be carried of by the governments against the subjects, especially their trade. The great news about Holland you knew allready by the newspapers. The King is at the Bath in Töpliz in Bohemia, where he found the Empress of Austria. The death of the Queen of Prussia [5] the most noble, humane and beautifull of all Queens, is much lamented. The King is very unhappy. Both were a model of domestic peace and happiness. His country is not yet free from contributions payable to France and consequently has still many french Garrisons. An entirely exhausted country cannot pay many millions as war contributions, and a monarchy so much reduced cannot enjoy much foreing credit. The inner economy is now put on a very solid footing. Sweden will be soon the scene of confusion, there are 4 or 5 principal factions each with their own hereditary prince in the pocket as we use to say. There is even a quite republican party under a baron Mornheim. The prince of Augustenberg [6] Brother to the deceased is supposed to refuse the succession offered to him by the King. A union between Den. and Sweden is certainly detrimental to both and not liked by any of those two Nations. The Russians are generally believed to be very malecontented with their present government and its rage for conquests. The general interruptions of trade occasion everywhere great uneasiness, misery and unhappiness. The links of commerce are too much interwoven in every civilised life of all nations. It is the blood running and circulating in their veins, a general interruption cannot be bore long, it must occasion palsy and death. But warlike heroes have no Idea thereof. . . .

March 28, 1815.

. . . I should add News from Germany. These are at present at a stand. The Congress at Francfort will be opened soon. That at Vienna was too much occupied with the necessary and unavoidable restitution of all the powers and states, abolished or counfounded by Buonaparte. It will be impossible to restore each little count, nobleman of the empire to his former mock-sovereignty, it is enough that they enjoy their estates as mediate members of the

[5] Queen Luise, princess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz (1776–1810).

[6] Friedrich Christian (1765–1814), brother of Prince Christian August who had been elected heir presumptive to the Swedish throne, but had died May 28, 1810.

Empire. It was necessary that the Congress meddled with the arrangement of many other states beyond Germany. Austria and Russia got more than they wanted. Prussia was the most modest, it got only the greatest part of his former possessions and in compensation for several lost countries, an establishment beyond the Rhine on the borders of France. It was not so happy as to have its possessions arrounded near one another. Yet Prussia was the saviour of Europe, it fought its battles, it undoubtedly decided Bonaparte's downfall. The purport or design of the new *holy alliance* is somewhat obscure to me. We don't see its effects. The Pope and the Jesuits are not passured, yet it is singular that in Prussia or at Berlin there will be a Reformed and a Lutheran *Bishop* and a Cathedral! ! Poor Nicolai! what would he say, when alife. The late Empress Maria Luise having deposed the Title of Empress and adopted that of Grand Dutchess, is gone to Parma. Her Son remains at Vienna and is called *Duke Charles* (not Napoleon).[7] All disputes with Bavaria about the cession of Salzburg are settled amicably. But I must close this letter, the post parts. Hastily your devoted Friend.

May 22, 1815.

. . . Thank Gods clemency I went unhurt thro' all the terrible evils that befell our city. I shall not trouble you with a long detail of what woes we suffered under. You will find in one of the chests of Books I have indefatigably collected for you, some of those, wherein is contained a faithfull relation of our sufferances. I will only tell you, what happened to me, since my last letter, which was delivered you by my friend, Mr. Sieveking. You know that when Hambro was first occupied by the French in November 1806 we stil retained our free constitution and were only considered as en *depot*. We were forced into all the measures against England and its trade. Our private property was respected, except all what was supposed to be english produce and merchandise. Our Schools, Gymnasium, Churches and what belonged to them, was respected, our library unhurt. We were not immediate subjects of France. Only our literary commerce was entirely stopt as to english literature, and somewhat restricted, as to that of the continent, France excepted. The Douaniers were a troublesome grievance. All professors were free from soldiers quarters; we had no new Taxes to pay, but the trade greatly diminished, converted into smugling. We

[7] François Charles Joseph (Napoléon II), king of Rome and duke of Reichstadt (1811–1832).

bore that patiently. We lingered til December 1810 when we were incorporated into that huge mass of states, called french Empire. Now the loss of freedom was severely felt, our constitution abolished and we subjected to a Commission, that was to frenchify us, in every respect. French superiors and rulers, french laws, french language, and what was worse than all, french manners and principles. Happily for our Clergy, to whom all Professors and public Teachers are reckoned to belong, the Commission was long time occupied with financial affairs (the principal aim of the occupation of Hamburgh) and with the war, as also with restricting trade. We all were obliged to swear allegiance to our new Sovereign. We were treated very civily by Davoust and his collegues Chaban and Faure.[8] We were reinstated into our offices and the treasury of the town ordered, to pay our salaries, as before. Nobody enquired about our Schools. I was desired an account concerning the public library and its funds, which I gave but shortly. Gradually the oppression went further, the conscription was introduced, we were to nurrish, to cloth and even to pay the Garrison. I for my part had the fortune, to be recommended by an unknown French Friend to the Commission, who exemted me from lodging soldiers, I paid very low taxes. I cannot guess by whom went that recommendation, but suppose it was either from Minister Reinhard[9] or from Mr. vonHumbold[10] who once lived in our commercial academy rather as friend than as pupil. But this amongst us, not to be published. I only know that I was harmless to France, not meddling in political affairs. Yet I lost a great deal of my income by the Emperors decree that suppressed every where all newspapers but one. Two of them subsisting then here I was partner of, as far as what concerned literature. They have not been reestablished, the principal proprietor dying at the same time, in distress. The French flew from Hambro in March 1813. 18 days after the insurrection of a small part of our common people against the french Douaniers whom they drove out of town (for which excess three supposed leaders, but one entirely innocent, were shut [shot] by a military court's order) Russian Cavalry under Tetenborn's[11] command entered the town. All was restored to our former state and all went on regularly. The Russians required nothing for themselves. But they raised a town militia, a Corps of Hanseatic volunteers was formed, and the town begun to be fortified. But in May a french corps

[8] Louis Nicolas Davout (1770–1823); Comte de Chaban, intendant general of finance (–1814); and Louis Joseph Faure (1760–1837).

[9] Karl Friedrich Reinhard (1761–1837), French diplomat of German origin.

[10] Friedrich Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835).

[11] Frédéric Charles Tettenborn (1778–1845).

under VanDamme [12] a very cruel inhumane commander approached, and soon after another under Davoust, quite his equal, both true adherants and imitators of Buonaparte. We were attacked by the Elbe side, thro' the Islands, which the French occupied notwithstanding a strenuous resistance. Our troops wanted experience and had no officers who understood war. The russian Cavallery and Cosacks, as formidable and dexterous they are, could be but of little service in small islands that were in reach of the cannons at Harburg. A small danish detachment one day helped us unexpectedly but retired soon. In stead of them came a regiment of Swedes, who assisted us in retaking an armed Schooner, the French had taken the day before. But also these were suddenly recalled. There remained nothing but some Mecklenberg infantry, and the Cosacks. Our Garrison was not at all sufficient to outstand a regular siege. The French began to bombard our town, to very little purpose, each fire was immediately extinguished. Tetenborn with his russians etc. was recalled, and declared that Hamburg by the treachery of the Danes was not longer tenable. Only 8 days longer than we had been included into the armistice made by the Allied with Napoleon. The Crown prince of Sweden [13] landed to early at Stralsund, by his political views on Norway and against Danemarc he was prevailed to recall his troops (sent to our relief without his orders, and even broke their commander, the brave Colonel Döbbelen) Danemarc endangered by the approaching Swedish army threw herself anew into Buonaparte's arms, the French and Danes agreed in the occupation of Hamburgh, the only favourable condition for us was, that we escaped being plundered by the French invaders. As soon they had invaded it (all those who were active in resisting their attack fled immediately, as also many of our Senators) they began the execution of their plan of exhaustion. Davoust very ferocious now declared Je ne verserai point de sang, mais vous payerez *terrible*ment. He was as good as his word. 118 millions were exacted, more than was to be found in whole Hamburg in gold, silver, and pretiosities. At last our Bank, solemly guaranteed before by Buonaparte, was taken away by force. Terrible confiscation of property not only of the exiled began. All was the more cruel, as all means to get money by trade was entirely stopped and our town soon after infested by the allied troops. We were to furnish men to fortify the town which was accompanied with the destruction of all the houses in the suburbs near the works, and even with many in the town. Now we were

[12] Dominique Joseph (or René) Vandamme, comte d'Unebourg (1770–1830). [13] Charles Jean Bernadotte, Charles XIV of Sweden (1764–1844).

almost confined to our houses. The blockade began. We were ordered to procure provisions for 6 months as also for fuel during the winter. Everything was exceedingly dear. All who upon examination were found not to be provided sufficiently should be expelled. This threatening was treachery. They intended not only that they would be rid of superfluous consumers but meant particularly to drive out many thousands men whom they feared as able to support an insurrection. The provisions prescribed were in part those intended for their soldiers, as brandy, the very great proportion of meat and flour. They gave their word that all should remain to the possessors but not long after we were required to deliver certain quantities of victuals for their use or as they stated it for the night-wach. Happily all Clergymen and professors got bread-thickets viz. allo[w]ance to purchase at a fixed price a small portion of wheaten bred from the bakers, who otherwise were not allowed to sell bread. All wine was required for the Garrison. Their officers lived in plenty and partly at the immediate expense of the citizens. I had no soldiers to nourrish, only to send my man to work at service. I was also exemted from contributions, so several of my colleagues, not those who were reputed to be rich. The distribution of money exactions was made with great partiality and ruined many of the richest families, especialy those whose head was absent or exiled. When Davoust was forced into the town with his army, our condition became terrible, a garrison of 30,000 man. Now the expulsions began to be more severe and cruel. During the winter, in the greatest frosts, nightly people were surprised in their beds, suddenly driven into cold churches by thousands, even sick ones, wifes, children some infected with the small pox. None was allowed to take with him but what in the hurry he could carry himself. None was allowed to entrust his small furnitures etc to faithfull hands, they were expulsed after a few hours to Altona (blockaded itself by both parties and in great want) or even beyond the suburbs into the open air. Many died, especially in the great cold during the Christmass night. More than 20,000 were so driven away. Ever memorable will be the praiseworthy humanity and charity of the Altonaers whereof you will find a true relation in one of the books I send you as soon as possible. Now our churches except one (that large of S. Michaels) were converted into stables for the cavalry. A new smaller one we were already long before obliged to cede to the Roman Catholics. Scarcity and high price of provisions, particularly of fuel was now increasing. Milk, wine, fresh meat, eggs were not to be got at all. I had the fortune that getting my dinner from a restaurateur, in whose house two high

officers were lodged who procured him good victuals, was not exposed so much to want as many others. We invented to make milk of almonds, to drink tea with red wine, and to spare sugar which was not to be got when our provision was at an end. In the mean time the burning of the suburbs was begun and continued daily or rather in the night, to make it more terrible. The inhabitants got only a short warning and did not know where to retire to. Their properties were often plundered by the soldiers. The destruction at first was restricted to what lay in reach of cannon shot, but soon extended very far beyond it, even to gardenhouses further than 1 mile from town. They contented themselves with burning them, and left the stone walls standing so that the ennemy could find himself protected or hidden by them. All was the effect of wanton hatred and cruelty. They could not pardon us our unwillingness to be subjects of France and our refusing tamely submitting ourselves. Now all correspondence was stopt (restricted it was always, letters opened etc) our only newspaper was full of lies, of tales of destroyed armies, fortresses taken, thousands ennemies killed everywhere every day. (They went so far in their effrontery that they told once the world, that on a Napoleons feast 40,000 soldiers were sumtously treated by the town, when it was only 2500!) The number of killed that were announced to the credulous people surpassed by far the number of soldiers of the allied armies. During that time our Gymnasium and School were so fortunate to be by a decree of the Emperor dated at Dresden 29 August 1813 confirmed to remain in their present state and the Commune or town government was ordered to furnish the expenses as before. So we went on (tho' our Gymnasium was once reduced to a single scholar) with our business, but mostly in our houses. I lived comfortably enough with three of my nieces who took refuge to my house; one of my nephews, who entered the militia being obliged to fly before the arrival of the french, and another serving in the Mecklenberg's body of chasseurs). The french during the blockade lost terribly by sickness. Their hospitals inhumanely neglected, burried every day 50, 60 or even 200 during the winter, the young conscripts not being used to the night frosts of our climate or the bivouacks. I know this for certain, because my nephew a physician here was required to assist the hospitals when several of their physicians died, which was the case with many of ours also. Mortality among the burgers was not very great, as the indigent were expulsed and the others lived upon diet. As for myself I was allways in good health and spirits. I was convinced that the Russians never would lay a regular siege before our town, and after the annihilation of

the french immense army in Russia (which could not be entirely hidden to our knowledge) I was certain Buonaparte's power was on the decline. So we were also informed of the warlike spirit at last roused in suppressed and disunited Germany, and of the unity restored amongst the 3 heads of the great alliance. Despair was also avowed by the french officers and soldiers. At last Napoleons abdication restored us to freedom, but not before the King sent a general to depose Davoust who finished with robbing the remains of the Bank. General Benningsen [14] took his head quarters here, without burthening the town with the nourishing his soldiers and at last all went away, and poor Hambro was left to herself and to the happy effects and hopes of peace. As to our literary institutions only one great loss is to be lamented, the destruction of Dr. Flügge's great botanical garden. This learned botanist who had seen the best gardens of that kind in Germany England France, had laid out his own in an excellent manner and order, agreably situated on the banks of the Alster. He had built a handsome house and a large adjoining hot-house. Cuvier, that celebrated french natural philosopher, who was sent by the Emperor to enquire into the state of our learned institutions and who published an exceedingly favourable account thereof in 1813, confessed openly, that the hot-houses surpassed by far their own ones. This garden was visited by Davoust himself. As it was without gun shot, it was resolved to be spared, and he gave the possessor a salve guard for his savety. But suddenly in the night came order to evacuate the house, Dr. Flügge and his wife and children were scarcely allowed to withdraw. Part of their property, which they intended to load in boats was taken, the house set to fire and even the garden ruined and allmost all shrubs, herbs and plants destroyed Even the glass beds for tropical plants were destroyed. The walls of the houses were left standing, a sure proof that they did not fear the ennemy would approach unseen behind the houses, which was the same with the walls that were left. Our public libraries remained quite unhurt. I was obliged to give twice accounts of our large one, which Cuvier who saw it, had called a superb one; but I hid as much the knowledge of our treasuries as possible, at last they seemed to be aware of my evading details and prescribed an enumeration of what was the most scarce and valuable. The hardness of the winter gave pretence for a delay, the blockade intercluded all communication with France and the unhappy campaign gave them other bussiness, and our deliverance saved also our library from french requisitions. At all events I had packed away the best Manuscripts, scarcest

[14] Levin Auguste Théophile, comte de Bennigsen (1743–1826).

books, and medals. If discovered, I could always say that the fear of a bombardment had induced me to pack them up in order to save them out of the fire. . . .

The greatest number of pamphlets (terribly many) and monthly publications of Magazines increasing every day, is devoted to politics, since two years especially in revealing the abominations of french tyranny. Those who do it by facts, not as many authors by declamations and abusive language, are by far the best. Some are even unjust to the French nation and the few of its worthies. As long as the french were here we were deprived of great many, even the most innocent new books. None was introduced before it was censered and stamped, many even were first ordered to be sent to Paris for inspection! before the Booksellers got permission to sell them. . . . All the foreign newspapers were forbidden und[er] severe penalty. One of the municipality once found in the street an Altona newspaper and took it up, a french officer seeing it, denounced him, and the poor man was happy that instead of a hundred bangs, he was pardoned with several days imprisonment. No literary newspaper could be introduced without a stamp. Some who had inserted a few modest remarks against french politicks were quite forbidden, even those of Göttingen for a time tho' printed under King Hieronymus' auspices and abjectly flattering that upstart of fortune whose profligate dissipation as also that of his wife ruined his country; but by these means they preserved the University of Göttingen even increased their matchless library with that excellent one of Wolfenbuttel very rich in manuscripts and old scarce books. Those abolished of Helmstadt, Rinteln, Erfurd, Altorf, will not be restored, nor even Wittenberg the cradle of our Reformation! The new one at Berlin founded during the war by the King of Prussia is pretty florishing That of Halle twice annihilated by Buonaparte is restored but every where many students fly to arms. Kiel Rostock Greifswald Frankfort on the Oder are languishing. That which the King of Prussia renewed at Breslau begins to florish a little. The bavarian at Landshut is encreasing much; another at Erlang is in decay. That at Tübingen in good state Far more that at Heidelberg, next Göttingen the best for Lawyers, for physicians is Berlin preferable, as also Vienna. Göttingen has the best divines, Historians and Natural philosophers, Leipzig is eminent in classical literature. . . .

Of newspapers I send only the best, that of Altona. Ours are partial, to full of invectives and even influenced by french spies, who live here, but are observed nicely. One of them is Bourienne,[15]

[15] Louis Antoine Fauvelet de Bourrienne (1769–1834).

once the condisciple of Napoleon, than his private secretary, than his Envoy here, lately the kings director of policy at Paris, but now out of employ, said to be destined a new as Envoy, but deprecated on account his former exactions, frauds and unpolite behaviour. He is suspected to have allways been of Napoleons party and still to be so. The war broken out in Italy, took a very favourable aspect for the sake of humanity. Murats [16] bold, but unwise treachery is turned against him, he threw of his mask, and hoped to excite Jacobinism in Italy, exhorted the people to unite in order to maintain their independence (under a French adventurer!) to shake of all foreign yokes (in order to be blessed with one of Buonaparte's fabrication) his army was much increased to at least 60,000, but not much liking their chief. The Austrians in the beginning were not numerous enough, and took to the defensive on the left side of the River Po. But being reinforced, they passed the river, and forced Murat to retire. When this succeeded, the Austrians in Italy divided themselves into 3 armies. One of 40,000 went to Piemont destined for an invasion of South France which in the same time is to be attacked by a spanish army in the west. The other pursued or rather followed Murat; the third and about 25000 under Bianchi [17] by forced marches went to intercept Murat and to hinder his reaching Naples. Neiperg [18] who commanded the second, was successful in little attacks upon retreating Murat, who avoided battle with his not very warlike new army against Austria's veterans. Bianchi prevented Murat and occupied the main road leading to Naples over the mountains. So Murat was between two armies, pushed towards the roads on the adriatic Sea, which are not very fit for marches of an army. He had lost much in skirmishes, in towns (some taken by storming by the Austrians) more by desertion and discontent, but was at last reinforced by 12000 conscripts under Pignatelli. On the 2 of May Bianchi's army met Murats twice as numerous. Neiperg could not follow Murat quickly enough who gained two days marches before him, and retarded Neipergs march by leaving behind a numerous rear gard to oppose him. With his other troops Murat was to force his way towards Naples. But here he met with Bianchi at Tolentino. He attacked him, but was not able to force him out of his position. The night ended the battle, but on the 3d Murat attacked at new, with still less success; after an obstinate battle of the whole day almost, he was obliged to retire

[16] Joachim (Napoléon) Murat (1771–1815).

[17] Vincenzo Federigo, baron de Bianchi (1768–1855).

[18] Adam Albert, comte de Neipperg (1775–1829), second husband of Marie Louise.

to the sea coasts unpassable road. Neiperg beat his rear guard too and joined Bianchi, now they are pursuing Murat from all sides, and flatter themselves to take him and his whole army. Hieronymus, who escaped from Trieste, is said to be with him. The Austrians took most of Murat's baggage, his Hospitals and apothecary, several thousand prisoners, but few guns. The battles were obstinate, as the Napolitans were more numerous. A Sicilian army, with the King and family, is to from Messina over to Naples, where [*torn*] in Calabria all is in insurrection. The other armies are now in great force under Wellington, Blücher [19] in the Netherlands, under Stahremberg [20] near Mainz, Manheim higher on the upper Rhine. His army at least 12000 already. The Russian armies passed Dresden and Prag on the middle of this month [and] go with forced marches towards France. The Danes and the Hanseatic corps are ready to march. But it is still hoped that the war will be short, because the Jacobins and Buonaparte distrust one another; the royalists begin to stand up against the usurper here and there, or are ready to exert themselves as soon as assisted. Many deserters, even Officers, go over to Wellington's army. Ney [21] is said to be much disliked by the troops. Conscription has now changed its name and is called national guard; but these are not for civil war, nor for war against the united power of Europe. You have no idea of the warlike spirit that is now excited in Germany, particularly in Prussia. Only a part of Saxony is behind the others I mean that of royal Saxony, because they dislike the partition of their country, which the Congress of Vienna found necessary (I don't know with what right) to decree. The King of Saxony [22] yielded at last, and subscribed lately. At present all communication is stopt with France. We cannot read farther the ridiculous lies of the Moniteur, to impose upon the credulous, who now are much terrified by seeing such great armies on their confines, and such unity in Europe, and such misfortunes of allconquering Murat. Buonaparte is still at Paris; they say he is sickly. But all such reports are usual, when he meditates an unforeseen stroke. The army and the lowest mob are on his side, all gentlemen, Burghers and Peasants are against him. That is the unanimous relation of all travellers returning from France. . . .

[19] Gebhard Leberecht von Blücher (1742–1819).
[20] Ludwig, Prince Starhemberg (1762–1833).
[21] Michel Ney, duc d'Elchingen (1769–1815).
[22] Frederick Augustus I (1750–1827).

July 8, 1815.

. . . You will have heard of the glorious news we have. Since Bonaparte on June 16 attacked Wellington and Blücher in order to prevent their junction, which notwithstanding the retreat of the Prussians was effected the same day; on the 18 he attacked Wellington with his whole force of 100,000 men at least and a formidable artillery. The battle was long and Bloody. Bonap. opposed only a small corps to the Prussians whom he supposed to be weakened very much by the repulse; but Blücher unexpectedly with his whole army (being reinforced by several corps under Bülow, Kleist [23] etc) attacked Napoleon in his right flank and even in the rear, which, with the brave resistance of the English Hanoverians and Dutch under Wellington occasioned the most terrible deroute and general flight of Bonap best army; the remains under Grouchy [24] according to Ney's open confession in the House of peers, not being more than at the highest 18000 men. But these since that day have been attacked at new, and dispersed; and Rapp [25] with a few thousand has been driven into Strasburg by the Prince of Würtenberg.[26]

The battle on the 18, being called the battle of la belle Alliance (a farm where Well and Bl met.) was far more glorious, than that at Leipsic. [*Marginal note.* The head quarter of the 2 Emperors and the King of Prussia was at Hagenow in the end of June. Hagenow is a town in Alsatia.] B lost almost his army, the best he had, containing all his old and younger Guard, lost *all* his artillery and munition, all baggage, even the Coaches and Carriages full of his preliorities, his correspondence ([*Marginal note.* This is already printed at the Hague], dresses (the imperial habit with which he intended to occupy solemly the Netherlands at Brusselles) his treasure. He himself was nearly taken, he saved himself by jumping out of his coach leaving his sword and hat, and throwing himself on horseback. By these means he and 400 men of Cavalry accompanying him, were enabled to be the first who announced at Paris the great loss attributed to *a panic* that seized his invincible Armada. He endeavoured to persuade both houses of the necessity of raising a new army (those who are at the upper Rhine, in Savoy etc one small corps) and new Artillery; the English and Prussians have allred[y] 30 pieces and daily get more from the flying and

[23] Friedrich Wilhelm Bülow (1755–1816), and Friedrich Heinrich Ferdinand Emil Kleist von Nollendorf (1762–1823).

[24] Emmanuel, marquis de Grouchy (1768–1847).

[25] Jean, comte de Rapp (1772–1821).

[26] Frederick II (1754–1816).

dispersed army, whom they pursue with 40000 men of Cavalry night and day. The best fortresses begin to surrender, as Peronne, Maubeuge etc The King of France is at Cambray with his Troops, whom he kept from joining the [English] or Prussians [no]t chusing to make war, himself to his subjects. Now besides the victorious armies, 600000 men have entered France; Russians, Austrians, Bavarians, Piemontese etc etc. At Paris all is anxiety and confusion Bon. with his used tricks endeavoured to escape by abdicating in favour of his son, and Napoleon II (in save custody at Vienna, where they *suppose* that he was at the dangerous delivery of the empress Louisa, supposed to a female dead child she brought forth) was proclaimed emperor. Now the new regency (selfmade) of Carnot, Caulincourt and Fouchè (trias nobilis fratrum) [27] send ambassadors to propose terms of peace (amongst them even La Fayette, le pere) But they were not admitted and under escorte send back without answer. The last letters state that Blücher's Generalquarter was at S Denys in the last days of June, that the King, L. 18, was at new proclaimed at Paris. So he is in the Northern Departements, whether sincerely or not, that is the question. Napoleon according to the latest account was at Malmaison, not at Havre where preceding letters told us he was going on Board on a Ship bound for South-America or for your Country (heaven preserve America, if this monster and horrid impostor should come amongst you!) Other letters from France even dared to affirm that B. was to throw himself into the arms of british clemency and magnanimity! ! The force of the Vendée is exceedingly increasing and advances towards Paris. There are reports that the duke of Angouleme [28] with the Spaniards is at Bordaux, that Marseille and many other southern towns erected the white flag and expulsed the soldiers. But this is uncertain.

All other letters confirm the glorious effects of the battle at la Belle alliance (near Wavre and to the South of Bruxilles) the same say that the loss of the Allied is very considerable. The brave Duke of Brunsvic [29] fell at the head of his Huzzards, putting to flight two french Regiments. I fear also to lose a Brother in law, Captain Jensen, who is severely wounded (not dead as [the news] papers say.) his Brother, a Major, is save. Several of my pupils are also [*torn*] God will give peace to the world and destroy the inhuman monster, that [*torn*] only for continual warfare and oppression, bloodshed and destruction.

[27] Armand Augustin Louis, marquis de Caulaincourt (1772–1827), and Joseph Fouché, duc d'Otrante (1763–1820).

[28] Louis Antoine de Bourbon, duc d'Angoulème (1775–1844).

[29] Friedrich Wilhelm, Duke of Brunswick, etc. (1771–1815).

September 4, 1815.

. . . As to the contents of my late letters, I will not repeat them, because I hope one or the other will reach you. I thank God, that I escaped happily to the terrors of the late war. The present is too far from us. You will know that all has not been overcome by the Capture of the cursed Author of all the miseries that befell whole Europe. Our Sovereigns are too honest to treat France in the same way they have treated Germany, and above all the prussian country and Russia. You can form no Idea of their wanton cruelties, not those after a battle or a siege, that may be pardoned to exasperated soldiers, but those committed deliberately and I may [say] systematically. We have at present perhaps a 100 pamphlets and books concerning the fate of many countries, towns, single persons who suffered by the terrible french yoke, who perished by what may be called a polite and genteel starving. Only of Hamburgh you may count 30 pamphlets, some of the best and most credible I have sent you in the box. There is no doubt that many writers exaggerated their sufferings, but the general sum of miseries and many notorious facts, public accounts are too evident. France does not suffer the tenth part of what Germany did in one year and they make a hue and cry about it as if they were the most innocently oppressed people. But the greatest mischief is that the Army of Bonapartistians cannot be annihilated which would be inhuman, but remains dangerous to the peace and tranquillity of Europe even dissolved as it is in part. If made captive and sent into Russia it could be rendered innoxious, but how effectuate that without a new battle; and then the garrisons of the fortresses remain still to [be] subdued. This is doing and Hünningen surrendered even these days. But the Free corps as they stile themselves are the scourge of France and do terrible mischief in the South. General Ramel,[30] a Royalist was lately murdered in Toulouse in a shocking manner. To dissolve entirely the Troups beyond the Loire is not adviceable because many thousand would form robbers in terrible gangs in the mountains of Cevennes. French politiks seem to draw all matters into the diplomatic way in order to gain time, to create disunion amongst the Allied or perhaps to form clandestinly an opposition. It is hoped not by force of arms, which would be the entire ruin of that most unhappy country, as the United powers are too vigilant, to be surprised, and too much united, to be separated. Heaven may dissolve this knot! The good King of France is the most to be pitied. . . .[31]

[30] Jean Pierre Ramel (1768–1815). [31] Louis XVIII (1755–1824).

June 28, 1816.

. . . I hope soon to hear you are well and enjoy the best health. What belongs to our Part of the Globe, it begins to recover from the terrible consequences of *french* liberty. Germany is not yet settled, but the fundament of a good representative Constitution is laid in every part. There are obstacles here and there. In the Kingdom of Würtemberg (for the folly of royalty was too deep rooted by Buonaparte) there are serious Contestations amongst the states and the King about the entire restitution of the rights of the States (Landstände) and the introduction of these rights into the new acquired lands districts. But the King acknowledges the representative System especially with regard to taxes. The Acts of the Conferences are allready printed in 12 volumes. The Landstände nobly and energetically maintain their rights. The King (an old despot) has yielded at last. His hereditary Prince is an excellent young man of true principles of liberty. Jerome Napoleon and his absurd wife the Ex-queen [32] live in the Country of Würtemberg, the first confined to one place, the queen separated in the residence of her father.

In Bavaria all goes on very well, tho' slowly. The liberty of the press is pretty well maintained. The litterary institutions flourish. Religious liberty remains unshaken, tho' the roman catholik party yields unwillingly and now and then vexes the protestant learned men at the head of the royal Academy. The philosophers quarrel as usual. Schelling,[33] the chief of the new natural philosophers, writes against the president of the Academy the celebrated Jacobi,[34] whose acute philosophy is mixed with some imagination, but very religious and moral, being of no Sect. Schlichthorst the secretary of the Academy, a learned man particularly in numismatics lives in peace. Thiersch,[35] a great master in greek literature has under the patronage of the King established a high School for Grecian youth and there are allready sent many of them to Münich, as love to science awakes in Greece; and the patriarch of Constantinople protects it. There are many learnd roman catholicks at Münich at the University of Landshut etc. who live in the best friendly terms with the protestants. In Austria all is in hopes. The great confusion of finances and papermoney begins to be remedied by establishing of a bank. The course of money is better and

[32] Jérôme Bonaparte (1784–1860), and Catherine of Württemberg.
[33] Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling (1775–1854).
[34] Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi (1743–1819).
[35] Friedrich Thiersch (1784–1880).

promises to go on that way. The Tyrolians are allready reinstated into their old privileges and freedoms. A very noble, generous and brave set of people, tho' not much enlightened by Litterature. The emperor is beloved and adheres to the principles of rational liberty. . . .

In the Prussian country all goes on very well. The Constitution will be modelled on the english form of limited monarchy. The King, one of the best ever seated upon a throne, favours it. Liberty of the press and of religion, as also the justice in the several Law departements are preserved; the finances, terribly ruined by the French bloodsuckers, begin to be restored with the return of commerce, and the restablishment of manufactures. The new acquisitions of Prussia in the West of Germany retain still their former laws and constitution as given them by the french; but all will be and begins to be rectified by degrees, in so much that at the end all will be reduced to one liberal system. Sciences are protected and besides the flourishing new University at Berlin, that at Breslaw (translated thither from Francfort on the Oder and united with the roman catholik allready existing there since long times, but neglected) that at Halle are very flourishing. At Berlin there are at present many celebrated Professors as for example Wolf (the Editor of Homer etc) Bekker an other very able Scholar, Vetter a celebrated divine, *Neander*[36] a young man of truly philosophical mind and a learned teacher of ecclesiastical history who has published a Life of the Emperor Julian, of Bonifacius the Apostle of Germany etc. He was 10 years ago a pupil of the Hamburgh-Gymnasium, a Jew, but after some years with permission of his jewish parents, went over to christianity, frequented the University at Halle and at its dissolution by Buonaparte was driven with 1 dollar (so much that Emperors liberality bestowed upon each exiled student) to Göttingen, from thence he migrated to Heidelberg, was after some years made professor there and since two years transfered to Berlin. There are besides him 3 other professors natives of Hamburg and pupils of the Gymnasium at Berlin viz *Bode* a celebrated Astronomer, *Tralles* a Mathematician of Renown and *Lichtenstein* a Botanist known by his travels to the Cape of good Hope.[37] At Breslaw there is *Middeldorpf* likewise an Hamburgian and able Orientalist, at Heidelberg *Cropp*[38] Professor of the Roman Law, at Göttingen *Heise* another much esteemed Civilist,

[36] Friedrich August Wolf (1759–1824); Immanuel Bekker (1785–1871); and Johann August Wilhelm Neander (1789–1850).

[37] Johann Eulert Bode (1747–1826); Johann Georg Tralles (1763–1822); and Martin Hinrich Karl Lichtenstein (1780–1857).

[38] Heinrich Middeldorpf (1788–1861), and Friedrich Cropp (1790–1832).

and *Martens*,[39] the celebrated politician, for some years in the ministry of King Jerome. At Rostock *Norrman*[40] our best german Geographer and statistical author on Germany and Helvetia before the French deluge. All these are from the Hamburgh School.

As to the political state of Hessen the capricious *Elector*[41] (the only remanent of this predicament but who stiles himself *royal highness*) exercises many despotical power, but with serious opposition of his subjects and even his military officers. His army (who bravely fought for liberty against Buonap.) is poorly payed; the officers almost starving, at last obliged to recur to the intercession of the Landstände (this was properly deviating from military subordination) were severely rebuked, and got a refusal of their just petition for a small increase of payment, the leaders even broke and sentenced to six months imprisonment. But now all officers are preparing to ask their dismission! The her[ed]itary prince is said to partake in all the whims of his arbitrary father. This is the more to be pitied, as the Hessians are sincerely adhering to their Prince, and entirely reduced to poverty by Jerome and his abominable *french Ministers*. Saxony divided unhappily and partly inserted into the Prussian Monarchy, is recovering from her terrible sufferances during the last war. This most industrious cleaver people of Germany begins to emerge. The King[42] a good man, but unhappily obstinately adherent and admirer of Buonaparte does his best to ease his people, but Leipsic will allways suffer by the near vicinity of prussian country intercepting part of its commerce. The partition of Saxony much ventiladed in pamphlets pro and contra is an unhappy consequence of quicquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi. The hanoverian country promised to be ruled quite on the english principles. The Landstände were restored and even happily reduced to unity (each country had formerly his own, differently organised) many good regulations were made, but the prince of Cambridge as Governor was only a friend to the Army and blindly favoured the nobility. In no country of Germany this (you know there are allways truly noble exceptions) nobility was more absurd and ridicule in its pretensions to be better creatures and more favoured from heaven, in its claims to preference to all high employments and to the monopoly of being staff officers in the army, in

[39] Georg Arnold Heise (1778–1851), and Georg Friedrich Martens (1756–1821).

[40] Gerhard Philipp Heinrich Norrmann (1753–1837).

[41] Wilhelm IX Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel (1743–1821), who had been raised to the dignity of Elector as Wilhelm I.

[42] Friedrich August I, King of Saxony from 1806 to 1827, Elector, 1768–1806.

their adherence to precedency and rank and in the entire separation from the burghers. It seems they grow even worse and more haughty than formerly. During the french revolution they were very humble and timid. The danish part of Germany is well governed but feels still the consequences of the fain[t]hearted political measures during the war but which were (to confess the truth) unavoida[b]le through the unjust provoking political system which gave Norway as an indemnisation for the loss of Finland to Sweden by no means entitled to the honor of great exertion in the common cause against Napoleon, for the hereditary Prince did very little *with his Swedes* for recovering the liberty of Europe, tho' praised beyond merit. Hamburgh had been saved when he only gave it such small auxiliary force, as once was sent her against his will and revoked suddenly in time of the greatest distress of the city. He was only meditating the conquest of Norway in Holstein. Very unjustly the King of Danmark has been blamed for abandoning Hamburg. At present this is public[l]y proved by many official writings and documents. The Kings instructions to his generals at Altona say, " that they should take every convenient measure to protect that town whose safety and liberty is very much interesting the King." The only fault which completed the ruin of Hamburgh and gave it into the hands of Germany [43] just a few days before the term fixed by the Armistice between the allied powers and Buonaparte 4 June 1813; this fault was that Colonel Hafner commanding the danish troops at Altona, was seduced by Vandamme to make a *simulated* demonstration with his troops as if he intended to cut of the retreat of the Russians under Tetenborn who were at Hamburg, which made it necessary to leave the town, as they could not but imagine that the Danes were now real allies of the french; without this step the Russians would not have quitted Hamberg and the town would have held out 6 days to the 4 of June the term when it was to be included into the armistice. Colonel Hafner was very nobly exerting his best power to help Hambrgh by frequent negotiations with the french to its behalf; but he was out witted by the french who flattered him by the promises not to burn or plunder the town, which really was never their design, as they only wanted the Money and the Bank treasure of the Hambrghers. A formal Siege was not to be feared as they had no heavy artillery and a few howitzers would not produce great harm in 6 days, no breach was to [be] effected and no storming to be feared when the Russians and even Swedes supported the burgers, determined to resistance. Many pamphlets and even prolix treaties have been

[43] France?

published lately to illustrate this point the best by Senator Bartels in his private capacity, not officially. He proved beyond doubt that it was a calumny that the Hamberg Senate even capitulated with the french clandestinly, but always acted in conjunction with General Tetenborn. The Commander of the Hamburgh Citizen's Militia, *von Hess* [44] disgusted, and tho' well intentioned not at all having military experience to be at the head of opposition against a french Siege, wrote a large book *The agonies of Hamburg* wherein he, in order to plead his cause, calumniated the Senate etc. but he has been ably refuted. At present Hamburg is negotiating the recovery of its bank but no great hopes of success. France is too poor and too much addited to its ancient politics.

The Congress of Germany and the outlines of the German institution it left us, is much criticized and debated in great many writings, books and pamphlets. The best was published by Klüber,[45] who gave in 24 volumes the Acts of that Congress. The principal and certainly most necessary thing was the arrangement of restitution of the several treating powers to their former equibrium. That occasioned an interchange of countries in order to join what formerly was separated and dismembered. Unhappily there was no other scale to be adopted in regulating this arrangement but the number of souls and the revenues. So they for brevities sake spoke and wrote of so many souls to be added, to be taken, to be given; which in the German expression caused an odious light to be spread over the whole transactions. Such cessions etc were unavoidable and before all other measures can be taken, it was necessary to fix the extent and possession of every part of the German confederation. All other things (as the congress was interrupted by Buonaparte's second appearance) were referred to the Francfort diet which is now on the point of beginning at last its activity. It was enough that the congress agreed upon a representative System; to determine all matters of its form, extension, was not possible; great many prejudices, contrary interests were to overcome. There was and is still an opposition of despotic ministers, of nobility and their usurped pretensions, even of clandestin adherents to Buonapartes exitial system or to french intrigues, perhaps also to others. The better to proceed slowly than to occasion or entertain a fermentation, that might unhappily terminate into a revolution à la françoise. tho' the Germans are by no means inclined to such explosions.

In Russia all is wunderfully about restoring its great havocks and wide spread ruins. Moskwa is mostly rebuild. The Emperor has now decreed that the peasants of whole Ehstland shall be liber-

[44] Jonas Ludwig von Hess. [45] Johann Ludwig Klüber (1762–1837).

ated from their bondage and their children shall be instructed in reading writing arithmetics and especially in religion and morality. The liberty is to be restored by Degrees in 14 years. This is very wise as we know by experience in the danish country that many disliked to be free not knowing how to manage their own affairs as freemen.

What I now wished to get is (1) the Continuation of *Burk's* History of Virginia Vol 2.3.(2 [cancelled]) 3)the Collection of Acts of the general Assembly of Virginia volume the second printed and sold by Pleasant at Richmond 1807 4)The new states or a Comparison of the wealth of the Southern and Northern States. Boston 1815. If occasionally you can help me to these Books, I shall be much obliged to you and willingly return such as you wished for.

I must close this long letter, Dear Sir, and leave a Correspondent with whom I wished to converse long time. I beg you to conserve me your friendship and to allow me to be allways, Dear Sir, Your much obliged thankfull Servant.

July 29, 1816.

. . . Then I shall join some interesting works and pamphlets on the late History of Hamburg. The Commander of our Militia, disgusted begins to attack our Senate. A small pamphlet in the Box written by Senator Bartels will show you the issue of the contest. The misfortune is that our Senate cannot produce all witnesses he has in his power out of fear to hurt some of the northern powers. The King of Danemarc was undoubtedly our sincere friend. But one of his commanders of troops at Altona exceeded his orders and seduced by that infamous Vandamme, who threatened to [*torn*] town, he was prevailed to let his troops make a false demonstration [as] if they had joined the french against Hamberg. This had the effect the french desired, That Tetenborn with his Cosaks left us. We alone were not able to withstand a siege, and were forced to surrender. The french never meant to destroy Hamberg but to get our riches and to spoil the Bank. A sennight before the prince royal of Sweden could have saved Hamberg, when he had left us his regiment of excellent Swedish Troops who ardently wished to serve against the French, and who bravely helped our young people to rescue the Brig the French had taken from us. The prince whose principal design was to conquer Norway in Holsatia,[46] would not operate against the french as he was dutifull obliged to do, he and the Danes mistrusted one another

[46] Holstein.

and we thereby were deserted by both. Had one of them held out with a few auxiliary troops given us, we should have been able to resist till the armistice had freed us, which our surrender prevented only a few weekes. We feared no siege, the french had but a few heavy guns and little mortars and howitzers. But erat in fatis that our riches should go to France.

I am summond to close this letter and shall soon write more being with gratitude. sincerely Dear Sir, Your very much obliged Servant

January 3, 1817.

The states of Wirtemberg exerted themselves very strenuously in defending their rights, and to establish them for ever, against the late whimsical and even sometimes tirannical King. His successor is a man of noble principles and begins to quench all differences between the prince and the subjects. The duke of Weimar [47] (Goethe is his intimate friend and Minister) gave the first example of a free Constitution. He could do so, as his country is but small. The prussian Constitution is prepared slowly, and so must it be, as so many formerly essential parts are to be changed, and the many dispersed countries of the prussian dominion in Germany differ so exceedingly with regard to their laws, manners, religion and natural qualities of the soil; being also separated and partially surrounded by other princes' possessions. This is a great inconvenient for Prussia. It is obliged to strengthen itself to many sides, being neighbour of France, of Austria, of Russia. Who knows what politiks these may persue in future times. All other german princes have been happy in concerting their dominions, particularly Austria, Hannover, Bavaria, Wirtemberg; not so Prussia, tho' she was really the great liberator of Europe. But still her power is not inconsiderable, and she recovers quickly from her terrible sufferings under Bonap. yoke. So does the rest of Germany But the diet or *Bundestag* at Francfort proceeds without unwise hurry. It was erroneously considered as the Highest Court of Justice in Germany, and overrun with petitions, even of particular men; but it has established its power as a constitutional Assembly. Unanimity of council begins to prevail. Russia retires from all influence with the deliberations and resolves of the diet. Bavaria may now and then oppose itself and still more the old stubborn capricious Elector of Hessen (as they will not acknowledge him as King, he whimsically retains his ancient title tho' no elections find place any more. There is a great commotion amongst german authors. Some in

[47] Karl August (1757–1828).

books, pamphlets, Journals, are eager to give advice to the princes and to the people, as also to the diet, each according to his system and spirit of faction. The nobility not yet being everywhere returned to sound principles of equality. They find their bribed advocates. Another set of scriblers risen to obviate the emancipation of the jews, and even by inhumane declamations to hinder the reform of this oppressed, but obstinate nation. A new sect of Divines endeavours to restore the ancient orthodoxy and even favours catholicism and its prejudices and noxious religious ceremonies. Several professors of the protestant Universities incline to these errors. At Berlin you will find one *Marheinecke* [48] who favours several roman catholik tenets. His collegue is *Wette* [49] whose critical researches destroy all belief in the pentateuchus its author, antiquity, and unity of composition. A third professor of Theology there is *Neander,* about 12 years ago still a pupil of our Gymnasium, and a Jew, but of great application and genius, but without the least appearance of fine breeding that could recommend him, a very good moral caracter excepted. When he was to leave us he declared his intention to go over to Christianism. His parents (still now Jews) consented willingly and he was baptized. None of us ever incited him, as we are far from the romancatholik passion of proselyting. He was to continue his studies at Halle when Buonaparte drove all students from thence, giving a dollar to each journey money. He now continued his studies at Göttingen, then at Heidelberg, where in a few years he was made professor of divinity, then he was called to Berlin as third professor of Theology. This young man is allready elevated to a see in the Consistorium (or the royal Council of Church affairs)! as neither his orthodox mystical Older Collegue nor his other heterodox one were thought eligible. His eminence is the knowledge of the ecclesiastical History. Yet in this same Berlin some professors are enraged against the Jews, especially that able historian and geographer *Rühs,*[50] who dares to deny that the Jews ever were persecuted, maintains that they are oppressed rightfully and should even be driven out of all christian countries. Yet Berlin was the see of so many enlightened jews, of Mendelsohn, Maimon, Herz etc.[1] The case is that the Vienna Congress made it an object of deliberation how Jews were to be enabled and prepared to be admitted to equal civil rights with the Christians; now mercantile interest is at a stake, and certainly all

[48] Philipp Konrad Marheineke (1780–1846).

[49] Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette (1780–1849).

[50] Friedrich Rühs (1779–1820).

[1] Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786); Salomon Maimon (1754–1800); and Markus Herz (1747–1803).

trade in Germany would [have] been ruined, when suddenly all Jews were admitted to all the rights of Citizenship, without subjecting themselves to all its duties. Hamburgh for example immediately would be deluged by many thousands, polish Jews, hawkers and pedlars beggarly and immoral unclean people. But that is not the intention of the three ruling princes. From another side Catholicism and even Jesuitism begins to exert its power. While many worthy Roman Catholik divines (especially the two Brothers *von Ess* [2] who translated the New Testament in two Editions for Catholiks and Protestants) endeavour to promote a reform of their Church, favoured by several Bishops, who recommend the reading of the Bible (von Ess sold allready 80,000 copies and prepares a quadruplicate *third* edition which I send you soon) and reform many abuses in ceremonies etc.

May 24, 1817.

. . . We are to celebrate in October next very solemnly the third Jubilee of the Reformation. Everywhere there are made great preparations. Happily we will do it not in that polemical stile full of hatred against the catholiks, which was still to much prevailing in 1617 and even 1717. But the restitution of the Jesuits and the Inquisition, as also the last Bulls of the Pope against the bible societies etc let us fear that the Roman-Catholiks will not be quiet on that occasion. On our side we will not provoke them. Some Apostates, as three of our poets, Count Stolberg, Frederic Schlegel, and Werner [3] (the last before his desertion wrote a Drama Die Weihe der Kraft in praise of Luther whom he even introduced on the Stage.) Stolberg, a very noble, but enthusiastic-sensual man was seduced and on his Travels thro' Italy. He has begun a large Work a History of the Religion of Christ, which is allready advanced to its 13 Volume the last beginning with the New Testament. He first since his conversion in order to exculpate himself before the public, begun to study ecclesiastic History and attacks protestantism as an uncertain ever changing and varying creed, defending the pretended unanimity of the Roman Catholiks. The work begins to outlive itself, tho' replete with many excellent poetical translations of Psalms etc. His moral as to its practical part is pure. His brother [4] also one of our best Poets, could not hinder his Apostasy. The eldest Sister [4] also became a Roman Catholik,

[2] Leander van Ess (1772–1847), and Karl van Ess (1770–1824), who were cousins, not brothers.

[3] Friedrich Leopold, Graf zu Stolberg-Stolberg (1750–1819); Friedrich von Schlegel (1772–1829); and Zacharias Werner (1768–1823).

[4] Christian, Graf zu Stolberg-Stolberg (1748–1821) and Katharina, Gräfin zu Stolberg-Stolberg (1751–1832).

but soon returned to our creed, departing from her youger brother, taking refuge to her elder protestant. Jesuits are believed to be clandestinly in Germany, but not avowed by any Catholic Prince nor by the Bundestag at Francfort. Many pamphlets appear against them. You know that they were expelled from Petersburg because they seduced a princess to the most cruel raging excercises of repentance and piety and self-tormenting as long fasting flagellation and even at last to drive nails thro' her feet. Her husband discovered it, as her life was in great danger Alexander got notice thereof and exiled the fanatical priests. I cannot comprehend what they intended by this execrable proceedings.

As to our *Bundestag* you must not [believe] the English who in Parliament and in the Newspapers spread many false notions of this Congress. It is unavoidably that in forming a new Constitution it proceeds slowly. A thousand institutions, customs, laws, etc are to be changed, or modified The very different Constitutions and government of so many large and petty states are to be united into one general body. You remember how many years were required to establish your federal constitution. We cannot establish and change them in such haste as the French did. Much is already done, tho' not so complete as to form a Constitution of Confederacy. They are far more unanimous as we expected.

The Würtembergers insist somewhat obstinately to have their old constitution of the 16 Century, but as the Kingdom consists of the old lands, and the new acquired this by no means is adequate to our times and would not give true liberty. The King (far different from his father) gave willingly up many of his prerogatives. Now it begins to be appeased. The holy league is at last understood and judged rightly, as really productive of good consequences and established with honesty and fidelity. The prussian Government is busy in preparing the states i e representative Assemblies of its many very divergeant provinces. It is also happily proceeding in ameliorating and restoring its finances. The dismission of Count Montgelas [5] (a Bonapartian Minister in Bavaria,) had allready good consequences. But providence has sent over us many calamities, scarcity of corn, dearness of all victuals and every other necessary wares; inundations very dangerous, want of labour and employment for the poor. All that requires great exercitions in an exhausted land ruined by the French Usurpation in a terrible way. . . .

[5] Max Josef, count of Montgelas (1759–1838).

February, 1817?

. . . The state of our politics you will see from our Newspapers. All are anxious to know the Conclusions of the Bundestag. It proceeds slowly and I think that is good; in the meantime many German Soverains go on to establish or to restore the Representatives whom we call Landstände. Many Changements are introduced allready others preparing. To be sure the nobility endeavours to get again at the head of Governments, but I hope invain. The most visible effect is seen in the Hannovrian Country. They have summoned their Landstände, but to no remarkable effect. One does not believe that an English Prince is at the head of the Government. He is too much a military man Yet they anew introduced into the discipline of the Army, the use of the cudgel and what is still more inhuman that of the gantlet. . . .

One thing perplexes at present most of our Governments viz the dearness of Corn, which certainly is increased by forestallers, who are too much destitute of human feelings. They expecting a still higher price of corn will not sell their stores that exist at many places. . . .

To Professor Joseph McKean.[6]

June 11, 1817.

I don't mention any thing of our political news. I only wish that you may form no judgment against the Germans by what is told in England and by the english newspapers. The truth is our Congress at Francfort proceeds with firmity but with a designed slowness. The constitution it will form, will be the better for it. It is exceedingly difficult to introduce a representative Government and limited Sovereignty in our great many petty states and provinces. Some greater states as Prussia are a collection of the most different governments, with likewise different privileges of the nobility, gentry, towns, corporations. All this shall be reduced without abuse of power into one form of Government. The Duchy of Weimar, the Kingdom of Stuttgard have allready adopted after long and mature deliberation a much more free Government. So Prussia is busy in preparing the establishment of States (*Stände,* as we call it) like a House of representatives for each province of this scattered Kingdom. The congress has allready surmounted many difficulties and great unanimity prevails there; for Example they have agreed that all exportation of Corn Victuals Cattle etc.

[6] Printed in part in the *Columbian Centinel,* Sept. 27, 1817.

from one german state to the other shall be entirely free. Formerly we had nothing but arbitrary restrictions. Another general law: Each inhabitant may emigrate from one german state to the other, with paying the least money, (commonly they were obliged to leave $\frac{1}{20}$ of their possessions, money etc.) Only [Every?] young man must have served the stated time in their countries militia; which is a salutary law. The freedom of the press is enlarged almost every where, and Censorship is much limited and mostly confined to newspapers, but not at all severe. Many committees are deliberating on different articles of the future federal Constitution, for example on the Highest Court of Justice to be erected, on the common militia etc. on the contribution to be paid for its maintenance.

The long lasting rains have occasioned very great distress in Upper Germany as also lately the inundations of the Rhine, Mayn, Neckar and other rivers. A very great emigration of many thousands took place but most of the poor people came no further than Rotterdam and Amsterdam, having spent all their little money, they were in a terrible situation, mostly not able to undertake the voyage to America. Every where Money is collected for the many ruined people by these public calamities. Happily we are in an expectation of a better harvest. Our Commerce has not got its former vigour. The many ruined towns villages etc. are restoring, but that cannot be done in a moment. Germany is overstocked with english manufacture wares. . . . The Russians, the Poles, etc. formerly rich purchasers, were terribly ruined by the French wars, and must first recover. Moskwa is in a great part allready rebuilded and more elegantly then before. . . .

The above letter to Prof. Joseph McKean, Boylston Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory in Harvard College, was probably one of the last letters written by Professor Ebeling, who died less than three weeks later — June 30, 1817.

Sir Charles Richard Vaughan

From the original in the possession of Sir Charles W. C. Oman

JUNE MEETING.

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, June 10, at three o'clock in the afternoon, President MOORE in the chair.

The record of the May Meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian made his monthly report, and also that of the Cabinet-Keeper. In calling for the latter report, the President spoke with feeling of the recent serious illness of Mr. Norcross, and of his long, faithful and devoted services as Cabinet-Keeper. Professor Albert Bushnell Hart added words of tribute and sympathy to Mr. Norcross; and upon his motion it was voted that the President send to Mr. Norcross the friendly sympathy of the Society.

Upon recommendation of the Council it was voted that the Society accept the bequest named in the will of the late Benjamin Pickman Mann, of Washington, D. C., in accordance with the conditions named in the will for the care and publication of the papers of his late father Horace Mann, which were placed in the possession of the Society several years ago.

Mr. W. CAMERON FORBES read a paper on "Prison Problems in the Philippines," being a chapter on the History of the Islands upon which he is now working. Remarks upon the paper were made by Professor Hart.

Mr. MORISON read a paper on

SIR CHARLES VAUGHAN'S VIATICUM OF 1826.

The following journal of a journey from Washington to Niagara Falls along the Erie canal, and back by way of New England, exactly one hundred years ago, is by Sir Charles Vaughan (1774–1849), British Minister to the United States from 1825 to 1835. It is printed here by kind permission of

the Warden and Fellows of All Souls' College, Oxford, in whose library the Vaughan Mss. are preserved.[1]

Charles Richard Vaughan graduated B.A. from Merton College, Oxford, in 1796, and two years later was elected a Fellow of All Souls. At that time the All Souls Fellowships were granted for life, and even residence was not a condition. In 1800, he obtained the Radcliffe Travelling Fellowship, and spent the next five years journeying in Russia and the Near East, experiencing many adventures, including a shipwreck in the Caspian Sea. Shortly after his return, Vaughan became private secretary to Charles Stuart on a mission to the patriotic junta in Spain, and entered Saragossa immediately after its famous repulse of the French in company with Col. Charles William Doyle. Vaughan wrote, on the spot, the only English account of the great siege. He afterwards rode at lightning speed across Spain from the Ebro to Salamanca, to bear to Sir John Moore the news of the disastrous battle of Tudela. Throughout the Peninsular War, Vaughan served in various diplomatic and quasi-diplomatic positions, impressing the Foreign Office with his discretion, initiative, and powers of independent observation. In 1815 he became chargé d'affaires at Madrid, in 1823 was transferred to Switzerland, and two years later was appointed minister to the United States.

Vaughan arrived at Washington during one of the many critical periods of Anglo-American relations, and was more successful than any of his predecessors in smoothing over difficulties, and cultivating good will toward his country. Handsome, affable and hospitable, he charmed Washington society; and, as his journal shows, his travelling experience of Spain and the Near East made the American roads and inns, about which most English travellers complained so bitterly, seem quite tolerable. To fellow-countrymen he was obliging and accommodating as Americans expect their own ministers to be; Harriet Martineau writes to inquire whether an invitation from the President is a command, and Captain

[1] Two installments of Vaughan Mss., edited by John A. Doyle, have been printed in the *American Historical Review*, VII. 304–329, 500–533. Our Corresponding Member, Sir Charles Oman, M.P., has kindly supplied me with details for this note on Vaughan's life.

Basil Hall desires the minister to forward his India rubber shoes from Washington to Richmond.

Vaughan's usefulness was very much increased by the fact that he was a bachelor. He always remained faithful to the memory of his early love, a French emigrée from whom he was separated at the rupture of the Peace of Amiens, and who was forced into a *mariage de convenance* before he could see her again. It will be remembered that the politics of General Jackson's administration turned largely upon the wife of the Secretary of War, Mrs. Eaton, whom the other married cabinet ministers and diplomatists were not permitted by their wives to receive, and whose cause President Jackson made his own. Vaughan and Van Buren, the Secretary of State, were able to do as they liked and their hospitality to Mrs. Eaton brought them very close to each other and to the President. It is interesting to find in Vaughan's correspondence that he considered Jackson and Van Buren in every way superior to their predecessors, Adams and Clay, as they were certainly more inclined to further good relations with the mother country. Most of the British ministers and chargés d'affaires in the Latin American republics had been known to Vaughan in the Peninsula, and their personal letters to him throw much light on English relations with the new republics.

Vaughan returned to England in 1831 on leave of absence, and was sent for by King William IV to explain what the nullification movement meant in South Carolina.[2] After a prolonged stay in London and Oxford, he begged to be sent to any other post than Washington. His success there, however, had been so great, and the pending diplomatic questions were so important, that Palmerston persuaded him to return, and obtained knighthood for him as a token of the King's approval. Vaughan therefore came back to Washington with enhanced prestige, and let every one suppose that his return was due to his earnest desire.

Except for a special mission to Constantinople, Sir Charles Vaughan retired from the diplomatic service at the age of 62, on his return from the United States in 1836. His numerous

[2] Vaughan's account of this interview is printed in *American Historical Review*, VII. 530–33.

friends in America, such as Justice Story, Charles Sumner, and Senator Archer of Virginia, continued to correspond with him; and subsequent British ministers frequently asked his advice on American affairs. He entertained visiting Americans in London and at All Souls. Charles Sumner for instance, writes him from Boston on log cabin notepaper, September 18, 1840:

> Our politics at present are shabby and vulgar . . . Webster has returned from England a *strong tory*. He thinks that England is Tory, ought to be Tory, and that the next general election will shew this.

and on November 30:

> I well remember All Souls and the agreeable hospitality you caused to be extended to me there and as I read your letter, I called up those venerable arches and towers which filled me with such emotion while I was among them. I wish I could have another day with you in that polite convent.

In touring the northern United States so soon after his arrival, Vaughan was following the example and advice of his predecessor, Stratford Canning, who wrote that his predecessor Bagot had made the mistake of spending too much time in Washington.[3]

WASHINGTON TO NIAGARA.

9 July, 1826.

Left Washington at ¼ past 11, in a chariot with a pair of my own Horses. Rossburgh 9 miles from Washington, 2 miles beyond Rossburgh, Vansville. Baited Horses, Refreshment, Bill $2–½.[4]

From Vansville to Waterloo, an Inn, — miles, arrived about 7 o'clock P.M. — Dined & slept the night and breakfasted. Bill $11–25c.

[3] Stratford Canning to George Canning, 29 September, 1821, S. Lane Poole, *Life of Stratford Canning*, I. 304.

[4] Sir Charles has not yet got used to the dollar sign, and makes something that looks like two £ without the tail.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton.[5]

12 July

Set out about 9 a.m. for the Manor, Mr Carroll's,[6] distant from Waterloo 10 miles, arrived in three hours about 12, o'clock a Guide necessary to shew the road.

On the approach of the Manor House, large fields in cultivation on either hand principally Indian corn — The Manor House does not exhibit anything on its exterior indicating magnificence or comfort. The Village before it consists of Barns stabling & Lodgings for the Blacks employed upon the Estate.

We were met at the entrance by Mr Carroll, who in Septem 1826 would reckon 90 years of age. The only surviving person who signed the Declaration of Independence 1776. I found him in full possession of all his faculties, neither speech, memory, or eyesight impaired, active upon his legs, polite and attentive in his address, of a slight-built person, thin small features, dressed in a silk Robe de Chambre & slippers — Lively & agreeable in his conversation which he kept up with animation, without once dozing until dinner time at 3 o'clock, and during dinner & afterwards he played a game of chess with his little grandson Mr Harper, & we assembled again at tea & a collation of fruit & wine & water at night & until we parted after tea, I did not perceive that his spirits or conversation flagged one minute. He offered to me the most extraordinary instance of longevity accompanied with every faculty unimpaired and perfect that I ever met with.

Surrounded by his Family, by whom he seemed to be beloved, there was a Patriarchal air given to the house which impressed one with the idea that all were living under the influence of the best feelings of our nature, great respect and attention to the old man & cordial & unaffected regard for each other. The Party consisted of Mr Carroll, Mr & Mrs Caton, the latter his daughter, Mr & Miss McTavish, Mr Charles Carroll, a grandson & his wife, Mrs Harper, another daughter of Mr Carroll's with her son, Lt. Campbell of U. S. Navy.

Mrs Caton is the mother of the Marchioness Wellesley — of Lady Harvey, & Mrs McTavish.[7]

[5] Headings in the Journal are inserted by the Editor. — S. E. M.

[6] Carrollton, in Frederick County, Maryland, 3½ miles from Baltimore.

[7] Mary, daughter of Charles Carroll married Richard Caton (1787) and their daughter Mary married Robert Patterson who died in 1822. In 1825 Mrs. Patterson married the Marquis Wellesley, elder brother of the Duke of Wellington. The other two daughters of Richard and Mary Caton were

BALTIMORE.

13 July.

Left the Manor House about 12 o'clock & proceeded to Baltimore distant 15 miles & arrived about 3 o'clock. The road very rough but the country better peopled & more interesting than the journey from Washington to the Manor.

Baltimore — a populous & flourishing city with good broad streets of substantial Brick Houses. The objects which a stranger is taken to see are

The Catholic Cathedral,[8] a modern Building, Low & substantial of the stone of the Country, the Dome would be better without its ornaments of stars scattered over it. The seats occupying in groups the whole center of the church, spoils any effects to be produced by the architecture. A Picture by a French artist, Guerin, bears the inscription "Munificentia Ludovici XVIII, Galliae Rex, solicitante Comite de Menou." Count Menou was the chargé d'affaires of France at Washington & had resided near Baltimore for some time & persuaded the King of France to send this picture to the Cathedral soon after it was finished. He has taken care to record his name & to ensure its duration as long as the picture shall last and perhaps it would have been as well that he should have been contented with recording the King's gift without placing his name near the Kings to rob him of half the grace of the favor he had conferred. The subject of the painting is our Saviour extended upon the ground after having been taken down from the cross. The only mark of death is the livid dark color given to the body which otherwise appears as tho' wounded & not dead, from the awkward manner in which the head reclines upon a Bank, & one of the extended arms has a swelling of the muscles, which does not belong to a dead body. The grouping of the Figures likewise did not please me.

In another part of the Cathedral there is a picture which according to the inscription which it bears was given to a former Bishop of Baltimore by Cardinal Fesch. The subject is the vision which appeared to St Augustin & reclaimed him.

Louisa, who married (1) Col. Sir Felton Bathurst-Hervey, and (2) the Duke of Leeds; and Emily who married John McTavish, British consul at Baltimore. Charles Bagot, Vaughan's predecessor, at Washington, married in 1806, Mary Wellesley-Pole, daughter of William Wellesley-Pole, brother of Lord Wellesley.

[8] Foundation laid, 1806; consecrated 1821. For picture and description, see G. W. Howard, *The Monumental City*, 1883, 34, 64–66.

The *Monuments*. which are conspicuous objects at Baltimore, are two, one of which is a plain Pillar in honor of Washington, which ought to be crowned with a Statue of the General, but the funds appropriated for its erection have been consumed & the Statue is not likely to be placed there, Another stone column has been raised to commemorate the defeat of the English at North Point in 1814. Upon the upper part of the column the names of the American officers who were killed are inscribed & upon the Shaft, upon a Fillet which encircles it, the names of the privates who were killed.

The Fountain of water enclosed in a Brickwork, upon a promenade is worth visiting.

The *Exchange* pleased me very much as a solid handsome Building, of modern date, the architect Latrobe. a good view of the surrounding country is to be had from the top of it.

The *College* a modern Building of Bricks is well built & contains Lecture Rooms for the Professors. Those for chemistry & anatomy roomy and convenient. The students of the latter class I had been told by one of the professors amounted to 500, & great facility in procuring subjects for dissection.

A museum is worth a visit for the neat arrangement in the classification & exhibition of the Insects, tho the collection is not large.

I saw at a distance a Frigate which was complete & which had been built for the Govert of the Brazils. The Builder engaged to furnish & deliver at Rio de Janeiro, a Frigate carrying 64 guns for the sum of 400,000 dollars or about 90 thousand pounds at the present rate of Exchange.

I called upon General Smith, Senator of Maryland, who lives in a handsome house & shewed me a portrait by a French artist of Jerome Buonaparte's wife, who was Miss Paterson, & a niece of the General.

At the Caton's House, I was shewn two excellent Portraits by Sir Thos. Lawrence of the Duke of Wellington & Mrs Paterson, now the Marchioness of Wellesley.

Baltimore to Philadelphia.

Saturday 15 July 1826.

Left Baltimore at 5 o'clock a.m. by Steam Boat. Bill for myself Mr Doyle[9] & Servant with dinner for two & the 2d day for 3

[9] Percy William Doyle, son of Vaughan's old friend General Sir Charles William Doyle, and afterward British Minister to Mexico. At this time he was an attaché at the British Legation in Washington.

people 38 dollars, 68¾ cents, champaign 2 dollars, Madeira 3 dollars per bottle.

The Steam Boat from Baltimore to Prince Town [10] Excellent, very large, The Cabin furnished with Bed places & Sofas, clean & neat. At 7 o'clock summoned to breakfast, a long table in the cabin spread with large urns holding on one side tea & the other coffee, then alternately dishes of Beefsteaks, Sausages, cutlets, &c &c. The fare to Prince Town 2½ dollars per head, as I had procured an order at Baltimore from the Director of the Line of Steam Boats for a Stage for myself from Prince Town [10] to Newcastle, a Land carriage of 15 miles, I paid 8 dollars instead of 3, which would have covered the expence for myself, friend & servant. The scenery to Prince Town uninteresting, rate of going about 8 miles an hour.

Upon our arrival at Prince Town, the stages were ready to convey us to Newcastle, a signal having been made to the town, as soon as we were in sight, to prepare the number of stages necessary for the Passengers. we required three, the number of passengers being about 18 only. We were three hours going over the 15 miles stopping 3 times to water the horses, the weather being very hot.

At Newcastle we proceeded immediately on board a Steam Boat waiting for us upon the Delaware, & were in movement without the least delay. This Steam Boat was by no means so large or so good as the one from Baltimore. It was narrow, the Cabin had not the same accomodations, no sofas, no Births, nothing but chairs & Benches, at 2 o'clock dinner was announced. It consisted of Soup, Roast Meats, Fowls, sausages, Tarts & rice puddings — Porter or wine is supplied by the steward & he is paid for it separately.

The passage along the Delaware affords no point of any interest, tho' the great breadth of the river & the occasional view of vessels passing in different directions enlivens the prospect now & then. Philadelphia opens to the view in a thick cluster of buildings, with the shore covered with vessels & the Navy Yard is the most prominent object. I was met by the consul Mr Robertson who conveyed me to the Mansion House Hotel where he had engaged apartments for me.

Expences from Baltimore to Philadelphia 20 dollars & ½.

[10] Should be Frenchtown, 16 miles from Newcastle. This route is described in *Guide between Washington . . . and Boston,* N. Y., J. Disturnell, 1846.

PHILADELPHIA.

SUNDAY 16 July.

Accompanied our Consul to Church. Found a modern handsome Building in the Gothic style.[11] The Body of the Church divided into Pews, uniform & neatly filled up, a Gallery surrounded the building above, at one end the organ & choir & at the opposite a pulpit & reading desk. The clerk giving the responses in the organ Gallery. Two clergymen officiated & they wore surplices, whereas at Washington the Episcopal Clergyman wears only the Black Gown [12] & the Communion Service was read at Philadelphia, which is not read at Washington excepting on the Sundays when the Sacrament is to be administered. Some part of the service was chanted.[13]

Being Sunday all publick Buildings were shut up & we could only amuse ourselves by walking through the broad handsome streets of good Brick Houses clean & neat in the outward appearance.

MONDAY 17 July.

Mr Robertson brought with him to call upon me Mr John Vaughan of Philadelphia who takes a lead in all the charitable & publick institutions of the Place. He invited me to postpone my visit to the Penitentiary until my return from Niagara, when he would accompany me over it with some of the Directors. Mr Vaughan was from Ireland, but a branch of the Family of Golden Grove in Wales.

Accompanied by our Consul, Mr Robertson, I went to the Navy Yard, went over the New Ship upon the Stocks called the Pennsylvania [14] rated at 120 guns but to carry about 160. 42 pounders on the main deck. Her length upon the Gun Deck 210 feet, said to be 5 feet longer than the Prince Regent [15] 23 feet broader. Principal timbers of Live oak & Heart of Yellow Pine. Between decks I could walk with my hat on without touching the Beams. The workmanship was pointed out to me as well finished, & at-

[11] St. Stephen's, Tenth Street, between Market and Chestnut.

[12] The Church in Virginia was pre-Laudian, and popular prejudices against surplices and elaborate ritual lasted to our own day.

[13] See J. F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia* (1845) I. 397.

[14] The *Pennsylvania,* launched in 1837, the largest and costliest of the old line-of-battle ships, quickly became obsolete, and was already being used as a receiving ship in 1850. G. F. Emmons, *The Navy of the U. S.,* 24.

[15] The largest British ship-of-the-line.

tracted my attention. This Vessel had not yet been coppered or her masts got in, but it was said might be completed in a few weeks, but as the completion of the Vessel is not at present called for, some delay it was said occurred in getting the timbers furnished which were yet necessary.

The ship has been constructed under a wooden House which completely covers it, & when she is launched, such is the difficulty in navigating the Delaware that she must go down the river as far as Newcastle without stores or equipment.

Under a wooden Building near the Pennsylvania a new Frigate called the Raritan [16] was nearly finished.

The Builder of the Pennsylvania, Humphries.[17] The officers at the yard were very civil & attentive. The master of the yard had been under some obligation to our Consul Mr Robertson when a prisoner at Halifax.

I was not shewn the Store Houses nor could I form any opinion of the stock of Timber in the yard. I saw an establishment for making Iron Water Tanks of considerable extent.

From the Navy Yard I went to the Water-works on the Schuylkill. Five water mills turned by a current from a Dam in the river can raise 7 millions of Gallons of water in 24 hours, into reservoirs on a Hill above, from whence the city is supplied by 15 miles altogether of Iron pipes.

The situation of these water works is particularly interesting. The Banks of the river beautiful & a place belonging to Mr Pratt is near, upon which immense sums have been expended in Hot houses & Green Houses in the Gardens.

Near the water works we passed the new Penitentiary looking like a fortress, not yet finished.

Mr Vaughan & with him Mr Walsh,[18] who talked to me of M de Terrant, the Editor of a Paper at Philadelphia & of a Pamphlet which made great noise in England during the war, upon the state of France. Mr Robt. Vaux [19] also accompanied Mr Vaughan.

I had visits also from Mr Becket, who gave me a letter of introduction which Hay had given to his relation Mrs Hamilton, from Dr Chapman & Mr Meredith.

[16] Launched in 1853; of nearly the same dimensions as the *Constitution*.

[17] Joshua Humphreys (1751–1838), who designed the *Constitution* and other famous men-of-war.

[18] Robert Walsh (1784–1859), lawyer, journalist and defender of American literature against the Scots reviewers.

[19] Roberts Vaux (1786–1836), jurist, prominent in educational and prison reform.

Tuesday 18 July.

Left Philadelphia by Steam-Boat. The Mansion House Hotel, once the residence of Mr Bingham,[20] bad accomodation. Bill 43 dollars. 2 dls for waiter.

Embarked on board the steam boat at 6 a.m. great many passengers, amongst the rest introduced to the Mayor of Philadelphia. At 7 o'clock, Breakfast, Banks of the river well cultivated. The land on the right is the State of New Jersey and the soil very inferior to the opposite side, Pennsylvania. The country presents several Houses scattered over it.

The tide having fallen, our Steam Boat landed its passengers about two miles below Trenton. Stages ready to carry them on, 7 were necessary. The spring of No 5, in which I was, broke, when the coachman fetched two spars from what is called a worm-fence, beside the road, & heaving up the carriage placed them under it lengthways to support it, and drove on as if nothing had happened and the luggage and passengers were shifted into another Stage at Trenton. From Trenton to New Brunswick is 30 miles. We reimbarked immediately on descending from the stage in a steam boat. Dined on board at 2 o'clock and sat down about 164 passengers. Arrived at New York about 7 o'clock P.M.

New York.

The approach to New York gives an excellent outline of the position of the city. It covers a point of land, with the broad North river on one side, that on which you approach it, with a deep Bay on the other, with Long Island in front, then the Narrows, the pass or entrance from the sea, between the extremity of Long Island on the one hand & Staten Island on the other. Under the land of Staten Island, in a Bay, is the Quarantine ground in which about 17 ships were performing Quarantine. Vessels from the West Indies & South America & the Southern of the American States — Quarantine from 15 to 40 days — The Narrows are protected by a round red Battery of Brick work, I believe, and another Battery upon an island near Staten Island. The latter seems at too great a distance to drop its fire with the circular Battery. On the right and left of the city quantity of vessels are seen moored and others being built, while opposite to the city on the

[20] William Bingham, former U. S. Senator. His mansion house, a splendid copy of Manchester House in London, was the center of Philadelphia social life under Washington and Adams.

other side of the Bay which is constantly traversed, by a broad raft, navigated with steam, & which makes the passage across in five minutes, is the Governt Navy Yard. At the end of the city upon ground detached from the main land is another large circular battery, apparently to defend the approach into the Inner Harbour, where the greatest proportion of shipping is moored.

An old Battery at the end of the Town, a circular red Building, has been dismantled, since the Battery before mentioned has been constructed and is converted into a Vauxhall, under the name of the Castle Garden. The walk round this place affords a beautiful view of the Bay, the entrance from the sea & the North river & is much frequented in an Evening, when the air which blows over from the sea is refreshing & very pleasant. Refreshments are to be had here & a Band of Music is stationed here till a very late hour every Evening.

WEDNESDAY. 19 July.

I visited the *Navy Yard*. & was introduced to Mr & Mrs Chauncey by Mr Preston. Commodore Chauncey [21] is the Commandant of the yard & kindly accompanied me to the shipping. Two frigates were nearly finished. The Brandywine Frigate was getting ready for sea, a new sloop was nearly ready. I was on board the Ohio, a large Ship — laid up — and near it the Franklin & Washington [22] of our class of 74s Fulton's steam ship [23] which was constructed for the defence of Harbours & of the wonderful contrivances for defence on board. exaggerated accounts have been circulated, is now dismantled & Commodore Chauncey hoists his Flag upon it, but lives in a House on shore, and the ship is a receiving ship with temporary masts & rigging to exercise recruits for the Navy. I did not perceive any great display of stores. It is one of the best ports of construction. The depth of water

[21] Isaac Chauncey (1772–1840), distinguished himself in the War of 1812 by capturing York (now Toronto) and Fort George; and by defeating the British fleet under Sir James Yeo, in York Bay.

[22] The *Washington* line-of-battle ship, launched in 1814, was broken up in 1843; the *Franklin* and *Ohio*, launched respectively in 1815 and 1820 were famous among the old 74's.

[23] The *Demologos* or *Fulton the First*. The first steamer built for the U. S. Navy, was launched in 1814, and made her trial trip under Captain David Porter in June 1815. Peace having been concluded in the meantime, she was made a receiving ship at the Brooklyn navy yard, where she blew up in 1829. Charles B. Stuart, *Naval and Mail Steamers of the United States*, 1853, 13–17.

everywhere renders the launching of ships of the largest class perfectly easy.

After the Navy Yard, I went to the Exhibition of David's picture of the Coronation of Napoleon. Then to the Museum of arts,[24] to which the Count de Survilliers, Joseph Buonaparte had lent two paintings by Salvator Rosa, one or two by Reubens, the like number by Snyders & a Ribero & 2 prize paintings of collections of Fisher by Jordan.[25]

West's painting of Lear is here also & a good full length portrait of him. The collection of Busts and casts was small & it is only the beginning of a school for artists.

Amongst other Exhibitions I visited one of a Collection of Rattle Snakes, to the amount of upwards of a hundred in two cages. The Keeper told me that in the summer months they never eat anything, that when they were about to cast their skins they became sickly and languid, but were full of vivacity as soon as the old skin was cast.

In the Evening to the Opera.[26] a neat, small Theatre. The strength of the corps consisted in Garcia,[27] his wife, his son and his daughter,[28] lately married to a French merchant, and Señor Anginseau.[29] A good deal of the opera was left out, but the performance was amazing good.

Thursday 20 July.

Gave directions to Mr Moore respecting forwarding Letters and Dispatches, wrote to Mr Bankhead[30] & drew for £100. Made some calls and drove out to see the environs of the city, in the direction of the Lunatic Asylum about 6 miles from New York. I saw only the Building at a distance.

[24] Probably the New-York Drawing Association, an offshoot in 1825 from the New-York Academy of Fine Arts. This Association became in 1826 the National Academy, and exists to this day. Its first exhibitions were held at the corner of Broadway and Reade street. *The Memorial History of New York City*, IV. 364.

[25] The Flemish painter, Jacob Jordaens (1594–1678).

[26] The Park Theatre.

[27] Manuel Garcia, the father of American Opera, came to this country in 1825.

[28] Maria Felicita Garcia (1808–1836) had married M. Eugene Malibran in 1826, and soon after retired from the stage, until the loss of her husband's fortune forced her to return. She then became very famous, because of her beauty and her glorious contralto voice.

[29] Vaughan's mistake for Angrisani, the Bass of the Company.

[30] Charles Bankhead, Secretary of the British Legation, Chargé d'Affaires, 1831–1833.

The Environs of New York disappointed me, the country is flat, studded with Villas, slightly built, with very little ornamental ground or gardens surrounding them. In Inclosures, were to be seen sometimes Saddle Horses, or cattle, never sheep. The rock peeping through a bad soil.

The position of New York as a commercial city strikes one at once as admirable. The magnificent Bays. 2 rivers which lead into them, the great depth of water close to the shore everywhere, The security of the shipping sheltered from all winds, The narrow entrance from the sea which seems capable of being defended, tho it is said that there was not any defensive work constructed previously to the last war with Gt Britain & that the modern work is not adequate to the purpose altogether one cannot approach New York without being struck with the beauty of its position as a Commercial City. It is impossible that it should have a rival on the Coast of America [*illegible*] tho' New Orleans, may compete with it [*illegible*] no great distance in the Gulf of Mexico.

The town is perfectly open, no wall or works for its defence. The Streets are broad, well paved, & formed by handsome, large Brick Houses. The principal street is called the Broadway & is already not far short of 3 miles in length. The public Buildings as Churches the State House &c. &c are plain but well constructed. The City seems to be spreading in every direction, & in it the continual bustle and movement of commerce & an air of ease & wealth about the inhabitants. Report speaks favourably of the Society of the place, & the general aspect of the place would induce a stranger to fix his residence in it.

Dined with Mr Moore, met the Mayor of New York, Commodore Chauncey, Mr. Buchanan the consul, the captn of the Sphynx, Falmouth Packet & some other gentlemen. Both the Mayor & the Commodore very civilly pressed me to dine with them on my return from Niagara.

The Castle Garden affords a delightful walk in the Eveg of a hot day.

The Hudson River.

Friday. July 21st.

Left New York by the Steam Boat Constitution. an immense boat, with spatious Cabins, one for the men and another for Females, over the Cabins, a broad Deck, covered with an awning, with chairs, benches &c for the accommodation of travellers. The Steam Engine upon the line with the Cabin, about one third of

the length of the Vessel from the Bow. Before we left N. York, General Burr, who shot Colonel Hamilton in a duel, the friend of Washington & one of the contributors to the Federalist was pointed out to me taking leave of some passengers, an old & ill looking man. Mr Bresson introduced me to a Mr Livingston & to a Mr Hughes who had formerly been Governor of New York. I found in the latter a very intelligent and gentlemanlike companion. He left us in the Eveg to go on shore to a large & well looking House, his country Seat, to which he invited me, on the left bank of the Hudson.

At 2 o'clock the whole of the Passengers, amounting to about 160 sat down in the Gentleman's cabin to dinner. The dinner consisted of a course of roast & boiled meats & vegetables, followed by Puddings or Pies, with Brandy & Gin upon the table to mix with iced water — Porter & wine was to be had of the steward on a separate account. Every one, rose from Table as soon as he had dined.

The distance of Albany from New York is by some accounts 164 miles by others, 154. The fare for each person 3 dollars. We passed the greater part of the night on board the steam vessel. At 7 o'clock we sat down to tea, with the addition of cold meat, & when the evening closed we took possession of very convenient and clean births to sleep in, which formed a double tier all round the Cabin. I had the precaution to secure a Birth through Mr. Moore before I went on board.

We arrived at Albany at 2 o'clock am but did not go on shore until about 6 o'clock. By the recommendation of Mr Moore I went to the Eagle Tavern.

The Hudson or North river is of great breadth, & depth sufficient for a Frigate to sail up it for many miles. The scenery upon the Banks is very interesting from the succession of Hills clothed with wood & verdure. We passed the position of West Point, celebrated for its military academy, which report speaks of most favorably, a small settlement on the left Bank called ————[31] was pointed out to me as the place where the unfortunate Major André was arrested & on the opposite bank the place was pointed out, where he was hanged.[32] The scenery of the Hudson, put me in mind of the scenery upon the Rhine, with the exception of ruins of Forts & the hills being covered with vines.

The Family of Livingston, descendants & relations of the Chancellor Livingston, who as American Minister in France negotiated the purchase of Louisiana, have their Family Seats upon different

[31] Tarrytown, 23 September, 1780. [32] Tappan, 2 October, 1780.

points on the left bank of the Hudson. The Chancellor embarked with Fulton in the enterprize of navigating by steam and they had a Patent granted them by the United States to have the monopoly of steam navigation for the term of 14 years, the longest period for which patents are granted. The state of New York, however gave them a Patent for 30 years which was set aside by the Supreme Court, after expensive litigation.[33] Fulton at his death left his family in great distress, which has not been relieved by the Govt.

The Erie Canal.

Albany is a large & populous place, but I did not find any thing to attract the attention of a Traveller. It is the residence of the Patroon Mr Van Ronselaer,[34] whom I had known as a member of Congress, but he was absent. We resolved to leave Albany by the stage at 3 o'clock for Schenectady about 18 miles distant, where we could get into a boat on the Erie Canal for Utica. We were about 3 hours on the road & at 7 o'clock we embarked in a long canal boat, with a good cabin for Gentlemen & a separate one for Ladies, which afforded very decent accommodations tho' a sad contrast to the spatious cabins of steam-vessels.

During the night, mattresses & coverlids were spread for the passengers & some Births allotted to them for repose.

Sunday the 23 July.

We were continuing our road to Utica, the boat drawn by 3 horses, but they are forbidden to go faster than 4 miles an hour as the agitation of the water, by a large boat moving at a quicker rate, injures the sides of the canal. The scenery is generally interesting upon the Canal but the point of attention is a Broken[?] country with a village situated upon the right of the Canal upon what are called the Falls of the Mohawk river. The Breakfast in the Canal boat takes place at 7 o'clock. The dinner at 1. & the tea or supper at 7 p.m.

We reached Utica about 9 o'clock on Sunday night, too late to see the town, & agreed to shift our Baggage into a Boat which was waiting for the Passengers, bound to Rochester & the termination of the canal at Lock Port.

In this boat we found Mr Van Buren,[35] a Senator whom we

[33] The case of Gibbons v. Ogden.

[34] Stephen Van Rensselaer (1765–1839), eighth patroon, Federalist leader, and General in the War of 1812.

[35] Martin Van Buren, the Secretary of State.

knew at Congress from New York & Mr Dwight,[36] one of the Representatives for Massachusetts. Mr Williams[37] a celebrated Lawyer of N. York was likewise an addition to our Party.

The Cabin was full of Passengers & the first operation was to assign to every one a sleeping place for the night, according to the order of their entering on board the Boat. Two tiers of Cots were slung round the Cabin, & mattresses & coverlids strewed upon benches in the centre. The scene for the night was by no means inviting, and the heat & snoring & restlessness of the passengers made one long for morning to appear. About 3 o'clock we were all in motion & hastening out of the cabin to a small recess near the rudder, where a metal bason fastened by a chain, was to be used in turn by the Passengers for their morning ablutions, the steward supplying towels.

Monday 26 July.

Mr Van Buren, Mr Dwight, Mr Williams & other passengers left us. Passed nothing remarkable on the road excepting that we were going through a country which had been a wilderness in the memory of every American on board, & which the Canal had now opened & on each of its Banks, the ground was cleared to the depth of a mile or more on either hand, & villages and habitations were springing up in every direction.

Tuesday 25 July.

We were pursuing our Canal route, through newly cleared country as on the preceding day. We had passed yesterday & today the respectable Villages of Rome, Syracuse, Montezuma, Lyons, Palmyra, the Oneida Lake & the great & extensive Salt Works, near a place called Salina where water is raised from Salt Springs & evaporated in a great collection of Reservoirs or pans.

We arrived at Rochester about 9 o'clock P.M. Went by the recommendation of the Captn to the Merchants' Exchange Inn.

Methods of Settlement.

It was curious to remark on passing through this newly opened country, the progress of the New Settlers. The first object is to

[36] Henry Williams Dwight (1788–1845) Representative from Massachusetts 1821–1831.

[37] Elisha Williams (1773–1833) famous for his oratory and his power over a jury.

purchase a lot of land which used to cost about dollar & half or two dollars the acre, but the same land since the canal has been opened will cost from 8 to 10 dollars. The purchaser has next to find out some cultivator who has earned & saved a small sum of money, who engages conjointly to bring the ground into cultivation with the new purchaser, upon condition of his receiving one half of the produce, contributing his share of implements & horses necessary for the commencement of their labours. The first job is to cut down the trees & build a Log House. Then the leaves & branches & offal wood is burned on the ground, & the ashes are deemed of good effect upon the soil. After this process the ground has the ugly appearance of being covered with the stumps of trees, to the height of 3 & 4 feet. In a long process of time these stumps decay & sometimes when this process has gone to a certain length, they can extract the stumps by a machine which they described to me as moving upon wheels of great Diameter. But this is a laborious & expensive task & they prefer leaving the stumps to decay, observing that during that period, the best land is round about these stumps. After burning, as I have before mentioned, the ground is not ploughed but scratched over with a Harrow and the seed sown. Sometimes after the crop of corn they wish to have grass & then the grass seed & corn is sewn together, the one crop not at all interfering with the other. After the ground has been cropped, it is enclosed with what they call a Worm Fence. It is formed by rough spars of wood, the ends resting upon each other in a zig zag form, to the amount of five or six pieces in height.

I was told that another plan for bringing ground into cultivation was, to allow persons who would undertake to clear it, the two first Harvests. By a calculation which was made on board, by a purchaser of land in the neighbourhood of the Canal at 8 dollars the acre, it was proved that the second Harvest would reimburse him all his expenses. Corn [38] was at this time to be had for half a dollar a Bushel & the farmer does not look to a profit unless the price gets up to nearly a dollar.

I observed but little stock upon any of the farms in the tract of country we passed through.

We passed on the Canal many boats laden with grain & timber for Albany & New York, & several log rafts of oak & other timber, floating down from the Head of the Canal for New York where I understood it would generally fetch 75 cents or three quarters of a Dollar the square foot.

[38] *I.e.*, wheat.

Wednesday 26 July.

At Rochester & left it by an Extra Stage, by what is called the Ridge road after dinner & slept at Oak Orchard or Ridgeway 40 miles from Rochester.

Thursday the 27 July.

Arrived at Lewiston about 1 o'clock dined at the publick Table & set off in a stage charged 3 dollars and arrived at the falls of Niagara about 4 o'clock.

Rochester.

Rochester[39] owes it's existence as a considerable town to the opening of the Erie Canal. It's rapid growth meets the eye at every turn. The stone for Building is drawn from the rock which forms the bed of the river, over the rapids of the river an aqueduct has been thrown for the Canal & the passage over it, at a considerable height is interesting & the work executed in stone, solid & good. The falls of the Gennessee River near the Town over a precipice of Rock 90 feet in height, are well worth seeing.

The River gives a water power which has been turned to account, by establishing upon it, manufactures of cotton, for carding wool & cleaning & preparing the cloth made in the country for the use of the peasantry, a curious machine[40] for making the sashes of windows, an immense quantity is turned out finished by about 7 persons who are employed in it at the price of 5 cents for each square The sash contains [frames] for glass. The squares are small & the doubles sashes I saw might be purchased for less than a dollar, made of pine wood.

There has been established also upon the river, machinery for making pails for holding water: The pieces of wood being cut into proper dimensions, the several parts are turned & put together in a very short time by machinery, a very light neat pail, hooped with Iron & with an Iron Handle is sold for half a crown in the markets & in wholesale at the manufactory for about 1s & 8d English.

The price of land at Rochester has risen from 8 dollars to 60 dollars per acre. House rent very high. many tradesmen's houses of 3 stories in height & three windows in front pointed out to me

[39] Population (1830) 9,269.

[40] There were at this time in Rochester two manufacturers of sashes and blinds by machinery: Joseph Johnson, and Wakeman Burr. O'Reilly, *Rochester and Western New York*, 375.

as paying the rent of 600 Dollars. Wheat at this time about half a dollar pr Bushel tho' the farmer's profits are nothing unless wheat will fetch the greater part of a Dollar.

NIAGARA FALLS.

FRIDAY 28 July.

On the road from Lewiston, there is a fine view of the Frontier between Canada & the United States and a principal feature in the landscape is a column upon a Hill on the British Frontier erected in memory of General Brock who was killed upon the spot in an action with the Americans, 1814.[41]

Soon afterwards we stopped to see what is called the Devil's Hole. The rock beside the road here projects & forms a sort of table, upon a precipice of great height & the story of the country is, that in one of our wars with the French a party of English which occupied this post, guarding ammunition & Baggage, were surrounded by French & Indians & driven over the Rock into the abyss below.

About midway between Lewiston & the Inn at the Fall of Niagara, the first sight is obtained of the Falls. They appear as in a picture, the white foam showing their extent distinctly divided by the Island, covered with trees which projects from nearly the centre of them.

The next view we had of them was after our arrival, when we traversed the rapids as they are called by a wooden bridge & passed onto the island. The roaring of the water as it tumbles over the Bed of the River before it reaches the falls is very impressive & from the island the two parts of the fall are seen separately. another view in face of the whole fall, & a more interesting one, is from a point of land near to the descent by a staircase to the Bank of the River, where a Ferry boat is ready to take passengers across the river. We crossed the river having descended the rock close to the fall, first by a staircase, & then over a narrow fall rendered practicable, but not very easy to get over & got into a small boat to cross the river, managed by a Ferryman with a pair of oars. The view from the river, of the whole front of the Falls, is most sublime. The loud incessant roar of the water, the thick mist which rises from all parts of the Fall in fantastic shapes, towering frequently above, the high rocks over which the waters rush, The vast volume of water which you see tumbling over the

[41] Really on October 13, 1812, at the battle of Queenston.

ledge of rocks in one vast sheet of white foam, but varied by the reflection of the light from its surface as it turns over the rocks, in colors which have a greenish, & bluish tint, which I have never seen represented in any paintings. The spray so fills the air within a certain distance of the fall, that we were as wet as though we had been exposed to heavy rain & were obliged to protect ourselves from it with umbrellas, as we passed.

It was a business of a few minutes to pull us across, notwithstanding the force of the current at some points. We landed on the opposite side, upon a footpath which had been rendered practicable, over the rock & about midway up the ascent we found a rude staircase as on the opposite side. When we got to the summit we proceeded to the side of the Falls which you are enabled to approach close to its current & it is impossible for words to describe the magnificent scene which is before you, from this the British side of the falls. They are divided as those before observed into two proportions, by the projection of Rock which forms a well-wooded Island in the centre nearly of the currents. But the falls seen from the Canadian side, tumble in vast volumes of water, over a ledge of rock, too deep in its curve to be called a crescent, & foam & roar in incessant strife. It is customary to descend to the bank of the river & with a Guide & dress for the purpose to pass under the cascade, to get between the sheet of water and the Rock, as it is precipitated over. The road is very difficult, by the Doyle's account who went there, & the inconvenience from the spray which almost prevents seeing or breathing renders it an experiment by no means worth the trouble.

There are two good handsome Hotels on the Canadian side. The one kept by Forsyth, of which we had heard but a bad account, which it did not deserve, & the other by Brown. We went to the latter, which seemed very convenient & the view from the windows very fine.

I hired a carriage and paid a visit to Sir Peregrine Maitland [42] the Govern of Upper Canada, whom I found at this season of the year, came with his Family to a House & place which he had made about 3 or 4 miles from the Falls. He has contrived to make grounds about his House in the English taste, which he has cut out of the forest himself, a fine view from his windows of Lake Ontario & you just catch sight of York, the seat of Govert.

Returned across the river to dinner at 2 o'clock.

The Governor remarked to me that some mischief might arise

[42] Sir Peregrine Maitland, unpopular because of his "torpid and nerveless" administration, was transferred to Nova Scotia in 1828.

from the settlement of Americans in Upper Canada, which was encouraged by an association for the purchase of lands,[43] which found that they could not dispose of their land advantageously without encouraging American purchasers. The natives of Upper Canada were represented to be a quiet people & attached to their connection with England, but the American settlers rendered them too speculative in politics, & less easy to govern.

With regard to the boundary line through the Lakes &c. the conduct of the Commissioners in yielding up Bourchart's Island [44] in the river St. Lawrence to the United States was highly disapproved of, as it gave to the Americans the command of the only channel of the river which is navigable at that point.

The Bishop of Quebec was expected upon a visit to Sir Peregrine Maitland. He introduced me to Lady Sarah, & we parted after a short visit & having accompanied me through his grounds. When his place was cut out of the wood, he had marked several trees which he desired might be left standing, but as he was not present when the Americans he employed, were felling the timber, in the spirit of their antipathy to trees, all were cut down indiscriminately.

The Tuscarora Reservation.

Saturday 29 July.

Left the Falls of Niagara after breakfast, which takes place at 7 o'clock, in the stage for Lockport. The road bad, distance 22 miles, Passed on the road a Territory belonging to the Tuscarora Indians [45] & passing through a village of two or three miserable huts, we stopped to visit in one of them the chief of the tribe, whom we found sitting upon a small bed, with common Linen or calico curtains, having been confined to it for 7 years on account of the loss of the use of his lower limbs. We were shown the Indian club, their weapon in war. Girdles of shells ill put together. The pipe, the calumet which they smoke as the symbol of peace. Some drawings by his son, were fixed upon the walls, of an attack

[43] This probably refers to the operations of the Canada Company, whose leading spirit, the Scots novelist John Galt, had a dispute with Sir Peregrine Maitland as to whether the crown lands purchased by the company could be sold to American citizens. Gilbert C. Paterson, *Land Settlement in Upper Canada 1783–1840* (Report of Ontario Dept. of Archives for 1920), 201.

[44] Vaughan probably alludes to Drummond Island which was adjudged to the United States in 1822. Kingsford, *Canada,* IX. 272, note.

[45] The Tuscaroras owned a reservation in Niagara county from 1797 until 1838, when the remnant began to move to the Indian Territory.

of wild beasts — Indians playing at their game with a ball, which they strike with a light racket. The Drawings were roughly done by a self taught artist, the Heir to the chief.

The old man spoke English very well & was very importunate for a contribution before we parted.

Dined at Lockport at the publick Table & after dinner the Canal Boat was ready to set out for Rochester.

Lockport.

At Lockport the Erie Canal is carried over by means of five successive locks, forming a stupendous work, excavated through rock. Every lock is double, those on the right hand for the passage of boats coming from the lake, & those on the left for the boats approaching in an opposite direction. & as we passed the Locks were in use at the same moment on each side, without any embarrassment. The Locks are constructed of hewn stone, with platform between them & stone steps to descend from the one to the other. Over each gateway of a lock is suspended in a Handsome Iron Frame a large lamp, which is lighted in the Eveg & the effect of the lamps at night, in regular succession upon this Eminence is spoken of as very striking. Upon the stone face of the first Lock on the side of Lake Erie is the following inscription.

The Erie Canal. 362 miles in length
was commenced the 4th July
1817 and completed in the year
1825 at an expense of about 7,000,000 Dollars
and was constructed exclusively by the
Citizens of the State of New York.

Upon the same side of the lock is inscribed

331 m.	Albany
228.	Utica
127.	Montezuma
64.	Rochester.

Upon the front of the lock at the opposite extremity there is an inscription which I had not time to copy, calling the attention of Passengers to the result of good publick Institutions & the magnificence of the works before them constructed by " Republican Freemen."

The great length & depth of the excavation through Rock at this point, to continue the Canal to Buffalo upon Lake Erie, & the

solid & admirable manner in which the Locks have been constructed renders Lockport an object well worthy the attention of travellers.

We passed the night on the Canal and arrived at Rochester about 10 o'clock.

SUNDAY 30 July.

We hired an extra stage, to carry us on to Geneva & left Rochester about ½ past 11 o'clock We were at Geneva early in the Eveg & found a good Inn & a pretty Town standing upon the shore of Lake Seneca, a lake of very considerable extent.

THE AUBURN STATE PRISON.

MONDAY July 31st.

Left Geneva about ¼ past 8 in the morning & passed by Waterloo, to the Village of Auburn, where the prison for the state of New York is situated.

This State Prison,[46] as it is called, is generally closed against visitors from twelve to two o'clock in the day, but the Manager, upon my introducing myself to him, immediately accompanied me over it.

The outside of the Building has nothing in its structure to remark particularly, it is built of the dark ordinary stone of the Country, surrounded by a wall & covers a considerable amount of ground.

We were carried through doors and gratings well secured, but with nothing further than the security which their solidity & Iron Bars insured, to give one the uncomfortable impression of entering a prison. In the courtyard which we traversed, there was a tank of water, in which we were told that the prisoners were allowed to bathe themselves on Saturday Evegs. Opposite to us, was a range of Buildings one story in height, which contained the work shops. We were taken into one where the Smiths were at work, shewn a rifle gun which had been finished by them. Thence we went into the room set apart for the shoemakers and were shown specimens of their work which appeared to me well finished. Thence we went into a room where churns, buckets and other wares in wood were made, thence to the Department of weavers making a coarse ticking with a blue stripe. & previously to enter-

[46] The Auburn system, famous in the annals of penology, was developed by Captain Elam Lynds. See Channing, *History of the United States*, v. 187–191. This prison is still used.

ing this workshop, the keeper apprized me that an Englishman was confined there, who had been guilty of a Forgery at New York & that two years of the five for which he had been committed were unexpired. The Keeper told me that the leading feature of the Institution was, that the Prisoners though assembled together in the different workshops throughout the day, were not allowed to speak to each other or communicate with each other by signs, nor are they allowed, but by stealth to regard any person who walks through their rooms. At sunset they are *marched* to supper, upon flour of Indian corn made into a paste, like hasty pudding & thence they proceed in regular file to their separate cells, in which each one is locked up for the night. This discipline & invariable silence is enforced by an overseer who sits one in every workshop, & who punishes with six severe cuts of a whip of ox-hide, any one who transgresses the rule. I was assured that this had been found sufficient to ensure the strictest silence & order, that it was very rarely necessary to punish, and this alone seems to be the punishment attending the confinement of prisoners in this Goal, together with the solitary cell at night, & seclusion from all possibility of seeing their friends. The keeper informed me that as some alleviation of this point of their solitary confinement, on Sundays he went to their cells, & was allowed to communicate with them & he told me that he took the occasion of telling the Englishman of the execution in England of Fauntelroy for the same crime, which he was expiating by imprisonment & labor, upon which he betrayed a great deal of feeling.

The State Prison of New York, when I visited it contained 450 prisoners. Those only are admitted who have been guilty of Felony. Sentence of death in the State of New York is passed only for the crimes of murder, in the first degree, that is premeditated — arson & treason. I was assured that I had passed through some desperate characters, yet these 450 prisoners were shut up, kept at work, to proceed through all the avocations of the day under the charge of a Keeper & about 15 assistants without arms, no soldiers stationed anywhere near them, no assistance to be had in case of a movement of the prisoners among whom they are stationed all day separately, the prisoners having sufficient arms for mischief in the tools with which they are working. A punishment inflicted upon one of their gang of workmen by an unarmed overseer, has not excited revengeful feelings amongst them. Their submission can only be accounted for, by the impossibility of making combinations amongst themselves as they are not allowed to communicate with each other.

I thought the building of the prison the construction of the several cells, admirable. They were clustered together in an oblong mass, to the height of five stones. The doors opening upon a platform, which went round every story. The prisoners in the Eveg are marched up to their platforms like soldiers every eveg and each one as he passes the number of his cell, enters it & puts to the door, which is afterwards again secured by a lock in the wall near it. Within side each cell was about 7 feet long and proportionably broad, a canvas in a frame, furnished with a large coverlid was the Bed. The door was grated by which air & light was admitted & in order to ensure ventilation a hole & tube communicated with the outer air, through the wall opposite to the door. In every cell, upon a small shelf was a Bible or testament, in the cells of those who could not read & who were taught to read, there was a spelling book.

We were shown the Hospital, in which there were only four or five patients, laboring under pulmonary complaints or the [ills] of the Season. Nothing could be more clean or comfortable than the sick ward, in which we found a physican and an attendant compounding medicines.

The number of prisoners was 450, but there was room for 1100. The breakfast was nearly a quart of milk & bread. The dinner bread and meat invariably, the allowance of bread 12 ozs per day. The supper the flour of Indian corn made into a paste.

The prison has been established about 5 years. The work of the prisoners is contracted for, by merchants & shop keepers, who send the raw material. Upon enquiry I learned that this year, the expence of the establishment beyond the receipts from the labor of the Prisoners would amount to about 7000 dollars.

It is a curious experiment to see how far it is possible to reclaim by confinement, attended with no positive suffering, beyond the solitariness that silence & confinement at night produces, Felons of all descriptions, & it remains yet to be seen, the expence which must be created by the constant addition of Felons from all parts of the populous state of New York. After every assize a certain portion of Felons are committed to this prison. The shortest term of confinement is three years and it is not placing the average of fresh prisoners too high at 100 every year.

There is nothing in this prison to frighten men from committing Felony. The punishment they undergo does not furnish an example to deter desperate men from committing crimes. The success however which has attended the introduction of solitary confinement in this very mitigated form, is singular, & such is the

confidence of the overseers in their influence over their prisoners, that they never apprehend a revolt nor has any preparation been thought of for suppressing it by force should it occur.

When the Prisoners are locked up in their cells for the night, overseers take it by turns to perambulate throughout the night in front of the cells, & the one who is off duty sleeps in a bed at the end of the Gallery in which another is walking his rounds. The pay of these overseers is about £100 per. an. — The apartments in the prison for the keeper are handsome & well fitted up. He told me that he had witnessed the effect of strict solitary confinement which had once been practised under his inspection, that he observed that some of the prisoners, being of unfeeling dispositions, grew fat like animals shut up & seemed to be indifferent to their state, while others of irritable minds would soon show symptoms of derangement.

The keeper civilly offered to send me the annual Reports made of their institution, which will furnish curious matter for deliberation. I think that the cells for the convicts might be copied with advantage in Gaols in Europe.

I dined at Auburn & proceeded after dinner to sleep at Manlius 35 miles from Auburn. The Inn small, but it furnished us with supper & Beds.

With regard to the State prison of New York I afterwards learned from an intelligent passenger in the Stage with me to Albany from Shenectady, that women as well as men are committed to it & kept in a separate part of the prison & they are not shewn to strangers, about 8 women I understood were at this time in it.

I also learned that the convicts were summoned to work at 6 in the morning & that at 12 a pause from labor took place, that at 6 in the Eveg they were marched to their cells each carrying with him to his cell, his supper of meal made into a paste, & a tub, for his necessities during the night, which they brought out & cleared every morning as soon as they were called.

A corps of 50 men is enrolled at Auburn for the express purpose of repairing armed to the prison upon an alarm being given of revolt amongst the convicts. In such case they would be followed immediately by the whole population of the town.

The Canal of Erie was principally dug by Irishmen. My informer regretted that the contractors employed them, but they worked for so much less than Americans, that it was advantageous to employ them. I understand that they earned 8 and ten dollars pr month, with their food. Great complaints were made of their

drunken habits, which were encouraged by the contractors who have a profit upon the sale of whiskey to their workmen.

I was told that in the upper part of the canal in the neighbourhood of Lake Erie, the farmers thought they were doing well when wheat fetched half a dollar a Bushel.

TUESDAY. August 1st.

Left Manlius soon after five in the morning, in order to reach Utica distant 40 miles in time for a Canal boat which we conceived would leave Utica for Albany at 2 o'clock in the day. The Boat however sets out at 8 in the Eveg.

Utica a large town of well built houses, to the prosperity of which the Erie Canal has greatly contributed. Inn good.

Left Utica by the Canal Boat at 8 o'clock. Met Captn Rogers of the Boat Holly, who had taken us up to Rochester, who undertook to arrange my passage for me to Schenectody & secured me good births in the Cabin, by putting down my name in time to have the first choice when the moment of distribution took place. We passed the night on board with a considerable number of Passengers — amongst them a Mr & Mrs Clare & Mr & Mrs Macartney.

WEDNESDAY August 2nd.

Arrived at Shenectody about 8'o'clock Previously to leaving the Boat, paid for 3 places in the stage to Albany & upon landing, a stage ready to convey us — arrived at Albany, 18 miles from Shenectody about 11 o'clock. Found Mr. Moore at the Inn with Dispatches from Mexico [47] & letters from Washington. The consul Baker & his sister at the same Inn, the Eagle.

THE SHAKER VILLAGE.

THURSDAY August 3rd.

Hired an extra stage to carry me to Lebanon, 27 miles from Albany. Arrived too late for the publick dinner at 2 o'clock. The Inn at the springs Excellent. Met Mr Livingstone.

The Village inhabited by the sect of Shakers within a mile & half of Lebanon.[48] Their mode of worship consists in the most

[47] Vaughan was in constant receipt of interesting news in letters from the British representatives in Havana, Mexico, and Bogotá. Some of them are printed in the *American Historical Review*, VII. and VIII.

[48] The Shaker settlement at New Lebanon, N. Y., was founded in 1787,

violent exertions in a kind of dance, a community of goods, celibacy, grafting upon the Christian religion some portion of Jewish worship, reject the sacraments, excellent mechanics, & exemplary in their conduct, a village of these people to be found in Kentucky & one other in another State of America.

The Spring at Lebanon is of very moderate temperature. The water said to contain calcareous matter, & some salt which renders it slightly purgative. The Baths are well constructed and the water is particularly pleasant to bathe in from its temperature, which is just sufficient to take off the shock of cold on plunging into it.

The views over the surrounding country from the Hotel, a spatious & commodious Building, are very interesting looking over a hilly district, beautifully wooded.

FRIDAY August 4th.

Left Lebanon by the stage for Boston by Northampton & Worcester. The Road good, but hilly & the views in every quarter very fine. Passed several villages, arrived at Northampton at ½ past 8 o'clock. The stage Passengers slept there and we left it at 3 o'clock in the morning of

SATURDAY August 5th.

Ferry Boat across the Connecticut river. Breakfasted at village on the road & dined at Worcester about 2 o'clock. Arrived at Boston about ½ past 9 o'clock.

BOSTON.

SUNDAY August 6.

Called upon Professor Ticknor who was absent from Boston & upon Mr Webster who invited me to his House & walked with me after Church. Went to the Eveg service at Trinity church. — many churches spatious and well fitted up — The Trinity church had an organ & choir & a portion of the service was chanted. The Inn good.

The city of Boston is placed upon a peninsula, and upon approaching it the number of Bridges & their length in the environs

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under the superintendence of Joseph Meacham. "Mother" Ann Lee lived there, together with about six hundred followers. F. W. Evans, *The Shakers*, 36–38.

of the town are remarkable. The Houses are well built & handsome. The most fashionable are built round an open space, furnishing an outlet with broad well planted walks called the Common. Amongst the houses was pointed out to me the House of Hancock, a native of Quincy who was President of the 1st American Congress. Upon the Common also is the State House, a very handsome building, with a fine view from it, where the Legislature of Massachusetts holds its Sessions. In another part of the Town is the old Town House called Fanneul from the name of the donor. The great Hall was still hung with black as the Funeral ceremony for the deaths of the Ex presidents Adams & Jefferson. The oration had been pronounced by Mr. Daniel Webster. In this Hall is an admirable painting by Stewart an American, still living at Boston, of Genl Washington, standing in a military uniform holding the Bridle of his horse. There is also a Bust of the late Mr Adams.

MONDAY August 7th.

Mr. Webster took me to the *Navy Yard,* & introduced me to the commander, Commodore Crane,[49] who accompanied me over it. It occupies a much larger space of ground than the yard at Philadelphia or New York. It has equal facilities for launching vessels as that of New York from the depth of water near it. In two *Ship Houses,* two 74s were building, to be called the Virginia and the Vermont. The first was in a very forward state. Three Frigates were constructing & repairing in other Houses, the Independence the Java,[50] which required complete repair, and another of which I do not remember the name. Two or three sloops of war were also in hand, not far from Boston a Foundery for cannon & a Forge for anchors. The naval yard at Boston seemed to have great capabilities about it, but I did not observe either here or at New York or Philadelphia that store of timber, sails, & cannon which is often collected & nicely arranged in European yards, nor did the number of hands employed strike me as large. The entrance of the harbour of Boston is defended by cross fire from two batteries upon Islands opposite to each other.

[49] William Montgomery Crane (1776–1846) distinguished himself first in the second attack on Tripoli, August 9, 1804; and served on Lake Erie during the War of 1812.

[50] The *Vermont* and *Virginia* were both begun in 1818, the former was launched in 1848, the latter apparently never. *Independence* was a razeed 74, launched in 1814, which had a long and honorable history in the old navy; *Java,* a 44 of the same year, was broken up in 1842.

Bunker Hill.

From the Navy Yard we drove to Bunkers Hill which is in the neighbourhood of it, and has given its name to one of the first Battles that was fought in the contest for independence. Boston was then occupied by the British Troops under Lord Howe & Genl Washington's Troops were in the opposite village of Charleston and occupying other points in the rear of it. The Americans sent out a Regiment to reconnoitre & occupy Bunker's Hill, from whence they pushed on to Breeds' Hill, which is a spur from the former, nearer to Boston, from which it is separated by a broad arm of the Sea or River.

The British Troops were embarked in boats at Boston & sent across to dislodge the Americans from Breeds' Hill & they landed in two detachments to the right & left of the Hill. In the meantime the Americans were reinforced by the principal part of Washington's force and the action took place upon Breeds' Hill, where may still be traced a Battery in possession of the Americans. The greatest loss was sustained in the rear of the Battery where the Americans had formed a sort of Breastwork hastily, by putting down a double wooden fence, such as forms the usual inclosure of fields in modern day in America, & a crop of grass which had been cut down for hay upon Breeds' Hill, was thrust between it, and behind it the Americans resisted the English, who are said to have lost 1,000 men. The Americans retired, but the English evacuated Boston, immediately afterwards, & retired to New York.

It was an action which neither party had any object in fighting. The result, however, was favourable to the Americans. It was said that our Commander instead of sending forces to dislodge the Americans from Breeds' Hill, should have sent gun boats & armed vessels up the rivers on each side of the Peninsula upon which the Hill stands & they would have obliged the Americans to retreat, in which they must have been exposed to a most galling fire as they passed the low land in the rear of the Hill. The position of the Gun boats would have cut off all supplies if they remained upon the Hill.

Harvard College.

From Bunker's Hill, we drove to Cambridge, & called upon Mr & Mrs Everett & thence to the University of Harvard. the University is beyond or in the neighbourhood of Cambridge in a pretty, retired spot, where we saw several different large detached buildings, the Lecture rooms, 2 Colleges of the students, who are

brought up upon a plan in many respects similar to Cambridge. The terms to be kept before they can take their degrees are the same. They wear upon occasion, the Gown & Cap. They are governed by a President, at this time Mr Courtland [1] and a number of Professors in different branches of science.

The country about Boston is covered with country houses, particularly upon the Ridge of Hills about Roxburgh — Baths for sea bathing have been established upon the Bridges which cross in so many directions the inlets of the Sea & Tidewater.

I dined with Mr Webster & met Mr. & Mrs Everett & Mr ———— a young lawyer & the Eveg I was joined by Doyle who had been to Salem.

Hell Gate.

Tuesday. August 8th.

Left Boston in an extra stage for Providence soon after 8 o'clock, price 18 dollars, distance 40 miles. Arrived through an uninteresting country at ¼ past 1. Dined at 2 o'clock at the publick Table and left Providence, which is in Rhode Island, in the Steam Boat for New York at 3 o'clock. The first part of the passage the water smooth, afterwards when we were open to the sea, rather rough. Tea on board at 7. Passed the night in a clean birth. Breakfast at 7 o'clock. The shore on each side visible. On our left formed by Long Island. When within 3 or 4 miles of New York, we were in the pass called Hurl Gate, or as it is commonly called Hell Gate, The [tide] flows & ebbs through this narrow straight, with a current so rapid & with eddies quite formidable to look at. Nothing but a steam boat can be sure of getting through & keeping its course through the whirlpools. The Vessels with sail require a very strong wind to enable them to get through. Many were attempting it when we were there, but as the wind was a light side wind, it seemed probable that they must put back till the turn of the tide. We saw one or two Brigs ground on the shore.

Just before Hurld Gate, a machinery was at work under the direction of a company at New York, to raise the British Frigate Hussar which was sunk there during the American war & it was supposed laden with money for the payment of the British army then lying at New York. I was told by a Passenger that the Frigate had been raised nearly to the water's edge when some tackle gave way & it again sank.

[1] John T. Kirkland.

Wednesday. August 9th.

We arrived at New York about 11 o'clock. Found the mail from Falmouth for the month of May, at Mrs Moore's. Dispatches relative to the Boundary Line under the 6 & 7 art: of the Treaty of Ghent and appointing a substitute for Mr Hale the agent of the Commission. Fortunately I found Mr Anthony Barclay the British Commissioner at New York with whom I talked over the points it was necessary for me to see him upon.

Thursday. 10. August

Found Mr Bresson & Baron Stakelberg[2] at N. York, wrote to Ward. Note to Mr. Barclay in answer to his letter.

Friday 11. August.

Embarked at 6 in the morning for Philadelphia in the steamboat. Landed at New Brunswick ¼ past 10. Stages prepared to carry the passengers to beyond Trenton 6 miles on account of the state of the tide, not allowing depth of water for the steam Boat to start from Trenton. We got over the 36 miles by 3 o'clock, reimbarked, dined on board. Landed at Philadelphia a little before 6 o'clock. Inn — City Hotel — Having found the Mansion House Hotel a bad one on my first visit.

The Philadelphia Penitentiary.

Saturday. 12 August.

Having proposed to myself on my return to Washington to visit the Penitentiary[3] at Philadelphia, Mr Robertson made an engagement for me with Mr Vaux, one of the Directors and my namesake Mr Vaughan to go over it at 10 o'clock.

The Penitentiary was originally the Jail of Philadelphia & since the Revolution has been converted into a Penitentiary, & as it was not originally constructed for that object, allowance must be made for the inconvenient distribution of cells & workshops in a confined place.

The Entrance was by a double Iron door, so contrived that by unlocking & opening the outer one, the inner one closed to & one

[2] Baron B. R. G. Stackelberg, Chargé d'Affaires of Sweden and Norway, 1819–1832.

[3] For further description of this prison, see Channing, *History of the United States*, v. 186, 188.

person passing at a time, waited between the doors as it were until by a second movement the inner door opened. We found a yard in the Interior, encumbered with huge blocks of stone and slabs of marble. It was the employment of a large portion of the Prisoners to saw these stones & the establishment collected by their labor a supply of money, until a person established a stone cutting machinery upon a water power very near the city. We passed through this yard to a semicircular building, containing workshops for weaving, shoe making, dyeing, Blacksmiths, spinning about which the younger men and boys were employed. The Mess room was a narrow dark vaulted place. The cells in which the prisoners were confined at night, had chains on the floors of some to which they were fastened, Iron grated doors, fastened by a Bar along the center and by a Bar along the bottom & the top, the necessity for which had been pointed out by an attempt of the prisoners to force the door by pressure upon the extremities of it, which was without support. The Prisoners seemed to have nothing but a blanket & to lie on the floor. In the corner of every cell a necessary, which in spite of the facility which was pointed out of cleansing it, left a disagreeable smell all through the cells. In the new Penitentiary it is to be remedied by a valve.

The refractory prisoners are locked up in these cells in solitary confinement at the discretion of the keeper & I saw several through the grating of the cells.

The Hospital part of the building had but about 10 sick, and the medical attendant assured me that it was long since any typhus fever had broken out. The bread given to the Prisoners was of Rye — they had an allowance of meat, & what they call *mush* for supper, which is a paste of the flour of Indian corn well boiled.

The number of prisoners was 623. 100 of them women, a great many blacks. The keepers unaided by any troops or constables, depending for succour in case of revolt upon the Inhabitants of the city seemed to me to be exposed to great risk, & we found that a serious rising of the prisoners had taken place once or twice, when several lives were lost. The prisoners are left at liberty to combine & conspire as the silence is not enjoined as at Auburn.

The prisoners are not only confined in this penitentiary who may have committed Felony but even for Misdemeanours, wherefore the term of confinement varies from 24 hours — to 38 years, one individual being condemned to that term. The keeper complained that nothing was to be desired for the establishment from those who were to be confined for short terms. The annual expence of the Penitentiary beyond the income from articles made

by the Prisoners, was stated to be from 6 to 8 thousand dollars. The clothing for the prisoners is made by themselves.

SUNDAY. 13. August.

Embarked at Philadelphia in a Steam Boat for Baltimore at 12 o'clock, the hour at which the Boats leave Philadelphia on Sundays, proceeded to Newcastle, thence by stage for 15 miles to Princeton, thence in steamboat to Baltimore where we arrived about 2 o'clock in the morning. Got beds at the Hotel & left it in an extra stage, at the charge of 24 dollars, (the fare by stage being 3 dollars each) at 10 minutes past nine & arrived at Washington about ½ past 3 o'clock.

EXPENSES OF THE JOURNEY.

July 11, 1826	Vansville	$ 2.50
12	Waterloo — 1 night	11.25
13, 14	Baltimore	38.68
15	Steam Boat to Philadela at $2.50 per person to Princeton [Frenchtown] & the same from Newcastle to Philadela.	15.00
	Sundries	4.00
16, 17	Bill at Philadelphia	45.00
18	Steam Boat to New York &c. &c.	20.50
19, 20	Billet New York	45.00
21	Steam Boat to Albany	12.00
22	Bill at Albany	6.00
	Stage to Schnectady	3.00
	Canal Boat to Utica	10.00
23, 24	Do to Rochester	7.03
25	Bill at Rochester	7.88
	Extra Stage to Lewiston	26.25
26	Night at Oakchester	3.00
27	Bill at Lewiston	1.50
	Extra Stage to the Falls of Niagara	3.00
27, 28, 29	Bill at Niagara (including Stage to Lockport	15.62
	Bill at Brown's in Upper Canada	3.00
	Crossing the Niagara River	1.50
29	Canal Boat from Lockport to Rochester — 3 persons	7.32
	Bill at Lockport for mocassins	10.00
30	Bill at Rochester & Baths	3.25

		Extra Stage to Canandaiga	10.00
		Do from Canandaiga to Geneva	6.00
	31	Bill at Geneva	5.00
		Extra Stage to Utica	36.00
		Mocassins at Mondage	2.50
		Dinner Auburn	1.50
August	1, 1826	Bill at Manlius — 1 night	2.75
		Canal Boat from Utica to Schnectady	10.50
	2	Stage to Albany	3.00
	3	Bill at Albany	2.25
		Extra stage to Lebanon	14.00
	4	Bill at Lebanon	6.50
		Stage 3 places to Worcester	7.50
	5	Do from Worcester to Boston	6.00
		Expenses on the Road abt	6.00
	6, 7	Boston Bill &c & hire of a Barouche $5.00	23.87
	8	Extra stage to Providence	27.00
		Dinner at Providence	1.75
		Steam Boat to New York	24.00
	9, 10	Bill at New York	24.50
		Waiter " "	3.00
		Maps	8.50
		Opera & representations for 3 persons the 1st & 2 the 3rd	10.00
	11	Steam Boat to Philadelphia	10.50
		Breakfast & dinner	3.00
	11, 12	Bill at Philadelphia	17.25
		Waiter "	2.00
		Spanish Dictionary	5.00
		Map of the World	10.00
		Mrs. Radcliffe's Novel	2.00
		Hire of a Carriage for the 1st & 2nd visit to Philadelphia	17.00
	13	Steam Boat from Philadelphia to Newcastle. 3 persons	7.50
		Newcastle to Baltimore	7.50
	14	Extra stage from Baltimore to Washington	24.00
		Bill at Baltimore	3.25
		Total	653.40
		Advanced to Servt	15.00
		Change of a Bill	3.00

Among the loose bills inserted in the MS. are the following:

EAGLE HOTEL, NIAGARA FALLS.

To 4 days' board 10/	$ 5.00
Bar Bill	3.00
Servants bill	1.88
Stage fair	3.75
	13.62

DOYLE'S BILL LAFAYETTE COFFEE HOUSE AND GENERAL STAGE OFFICE, SALEM

2 Breakfast	.75
1 Dinner	.50
1 lodging	.25
Sundries	.06
	1.56

SUMMARY OF THE JOURNEY.

	miles	
Washington to Baltimore	36	
Philadelphia	139	By steamboat, 15 miles by stage
New York	96	Do 36 miles by stage
Albany	145	Steamboat on the Hudson or North R.
Schnectady	16	By stage
Utica	79½	By Canal-Boat
Rochester	159	Do
Lewiston	75	Extra-Stage
Falls of Niagara	7	Do
Lockport	22	By Stage
Lockport to Rochester	61	By Canal-Boat
Geneva	46	By Extra-Stage
Auburn	23	Do
Manlius	35	Do
Utica	40	Do
Schnectady	79½	By Canal-Boat
Albany	16	Stage
Lebanon	28	Extra Stage

	Miles	
Lockport to Northampton	46	Stage
Worcester	47	Do
Boston	45	Do
Providence	40	Extra Stage
New York	241	By Steam-Boat
New York to Philadelphia	96	By Steam-Boat, 36 miles by Stage
Baltimore	139	Do 15 Do
Washington	36	Extra Stage
	1793	
By land	624	miles
Water	1169	
Total	1793	miles between the 11th July and the 13th of August 1826.

BOLLAN ON WRITS OF ASSISTANCE

Mr. WOLKINS read the following note and document:

A paper [1] read here in June, 1924, was intended to show that prior to the revenue acts of 1767 Writs of Assistance in the Plantations were probably illegal; but at the time there were no positive data in hand tending to establish the channel through which Hutchinson drew the English precedents on which he rested his decision to let the writ issue. Hutchinson's *History* represents him as saying: "The chief justice was, therefore, desired, by the first opportunity in his power, to obtain information of the practice in England, and judgment was suspended. At the next term, it appeared that such writs issued from the exchequer, of course, when applied for; and this was judged sufficient to warrant the practice in the province." [2] From this statement it was inferred in the paper referred to, that Hutchinson would seek "advice from lawyer-like acquaintances who would be familiar with Exchequer jurisdiction and would get his point of view." [3] Search in the Newcastle Papers [4] in the British Museum has now dis-

[1] *Proceedings*, LVIII. 5.
[2] III (1749–1774). 93–4.
[3] *Proceedings*, LVIII. 7.
[4] Addit'l MSS. 32686–33057.

closed a letter of some interest to which is appended a careful "Memorandum" on precisely this subject. The writer was William Bollan, son-in-law to William Shirley, and like Shirley he had fallen on meagre circumstances in 1766 when this supplication was addressed to the Duke of Newcastle. Taken as a whole the document is a claim for regard from a chief patron of the Shirleys: Bollan sues for favor because of services to the crown, with given particulars, and among the specially deserving acts of loyalty is the help he rendered Hutchinson in the controversy over Writs of Assistance. Bollan had been Advocate-General of the Court of Vice-Admiralty in Massachusetts during the Shirley régime, and familiar as he was with the posture of revenue affairs here, was a quite suitable resource for Hutchinson in the latter's quest for the right kind of dicta.[5]

The text of the "Memorandum" gives so clear an impression of Hutchinson's method that it seems of enough value to present to the Society, together with the body of the letter that precedes it.

William Bollan to the Duke of Newcastle.[6]

Gerard street April 12th 1766.

My Lord Duke, — I pray the favour of your Graces consideration of the following particulars. The American fishery, and Nova Scotia for the sake of that and its situation with respect to the British and French colonies, and the course of navigation from them to Europe, having been the continual object of the desire of France; and she having in 1744 opened the war in America by taking Canceau with forces issued from Louisbourg, under the command of Mons'r Duvivier, whose subsequent expeditions against Placentia and Annapolis were frustrated by the favour of Heaven and the succours sent from Boston; whereupon in the ensuing winter he having gone to France, in order to concert proper measures with her ministers for the reduction of Nova Scotia, and destruction of the English fishery, it was judged expedient by the governour of Massachu'tts Bay, under whose influence that province had exerted itself to preserve Nova Scotia, and take and secure

[5] See *Collections*, LXXIV. 26, for references to Bollan's dismission as Agent for the Province [1762].

[6] B. M. Addit'l MSS. 32,974. fo. 364.

Cape Breton, that some person well acquainted with the whole matter, and in particular with the state of Nova Scotia, and its danger from the French at Canada, and the Indians under their influence, and forces probably coming from France, in consequence of Mr. Duviviers representations, and the constant designs of advancing her interest in that quarter, shou'd come over to England, to give to his majestys ministers all necessary information, in order to its future preservation, and to attend their subsequent directions; upon which, at the said governours desire, and moved by my own regard for the kings service, in June 1745, I resolved to come hither for that purpose, hoping at the same time that I should be able to give some useful assistance in the removal of those difficulties which attended the execution of the acts of trade and commerce; accordingly I attended his majestys ministers from time to time hereupon, and in particular your Grace. My undertaking and introduction to you to perform this service will appear from the governours letter to your Grace, remaining, I presume, in the secretary of states office, where doubtless may be found various proposals made by me at different times, in pursuance of your Graces directions, for the immediate and perpetual preservation of Nova Scotia, and the best prosecution of the war; but for your Graces ease, and in justice to myself, I desire leave briefly to observe that after numerous attendances, and other proposals, some of which were in writing, Mr. Stone [7] having at St. James's, on the 15th of Jan'ry 1746, given me particular directions, I immediately prepared and laid before your Grace a paper entitled, " The course of the war between the English and French and their several interests on the continent of America, and the adjacent isles of Cape Breton and Newfoundland, briefly stated and consider'd, with proposals for prosecuting the war there to the advantage of this kingdom," the latter part whereof contain'd proposals for strengthening and preserving Nova Scotia in particular — that soon after this, in obedience to your Graces commands, Mr. Warren,[8] Mr. Clarke, and myself met, consulted and agreed upon divers things to be done for the preservation of the English colonies and interests on the continent of America, and the islands of Cape Breton and Newfoundland, the proposals whereof were submitted to your Grace — that the measures thus proposed not being carried into execution, and the enemy having got possession of a considerable part of the province, and the rest being imminent danger, on the 19th of Aug't 1747, by my letter to your Grace, I set forth the

[7] Andrew Stone (1703–1773), Under Secretary of State.
[8] Sir Peter Warren (1703–1752).

whole matter at large, and submitted to consideration a review of the former proposals, making at the same time such others as might be serviceable on the present occasion — that on the 21st of Sept'r following, by order, I deliver'd in writing to Mr. Stone some fresh proposals, among other things proposing that a 40 or 50 gun ship should, during the ensuing winter be stationed at Annapolis, for the protection of it and the province, and that two armed vessels shou'd be employ'd for that purpose, whereby the enemy wou'd be prevented from transporting in their vessels, then lying at Chicgnecto their cannon, with which they might attempt the reduction of Annapolis — that Mr. Warren having declared his opinion that the Ship of war proposed cou'd not lye at Anapolis during the winter, Mr. Anson on behalf of the admiralty and Mr. Stone on behalf of your Grace had a meeting to inquire into the matter, being attended by Mr. Warren, myself, and others, and upon examination [it] was found to be practicable — that in the course of this service I with great difficulty prevailed to have the first company of rangers established — that the extirpation of the inhabitants being held by some persons necessary to the preservation of the province, I had the difficulty of opposing this to the utmost, as such an attempt then made would certainly, in my opinion, have caused a general revolt, and probably the immediate loss of the province — that an inhabitant of Nova Scotia, who had undertaken to pilate part of duke D'Anvilles squadron from Chibucto or Halifax harbour round to Anapolis, being said to have been brought into Portsmouth as a prisoner of war, taken in a ship of that squadron, by your Graces order I went to Portsmouth, to examine into the matter, that this offender might be duely punished, if upon farther consideration it shou'd be judged expedient — that the expense attending these services was not inconsiderable, altho' my general expense was born by the Massachu'tts province, in consequence of my agency for it, to which I was appointed by the general court upon their being informed of my design to embark for Great Britain, whose service, during its continuance, increased my natural disinclination to be any ways troublesome to my superiours respecting myself; and indeed humbly hoping that my services, as they related to the preservation of an important member of the state, which continued a long time in extreme danger, and were known to have been perform'd with vigilance, care and fidelity, would sooner or later, without any troublesome sollicitation, have been so far noticed in point of recompense as suited the moderation of my desires.

I beg leave of your Grace also to represent that on the 21st of

Sept'r 1742 the lords of admiralty appointed me the kings advocate for the Massachu'tts province, which office I accepted under a firm persuasion that the distinguishing myself by the faithful and effectual of it wou'd recommend me to the favour and support of my superiours — that in Dec'r following having exhibited an information in the court of admiralty against a wealthy merchant and the master of his ship, in order to recover the value of a large quantity of melasses landed contrary to the statute 6 Geo: 2, an attempt was made to exempt the proper witnesses from giving their testimony, under an illusive pretence that they were interested in the cause. In order to defeat this attempt the success whereof wou'd evidently in its consequence frustrate in many instances the acts of trade, I found it necessary to have eleven persons committed to jail in Boston, where they lay a long time, notwithstanding they brought their several writs of habeas corpus returnable to the superiour court of judicature; and altho' they were by that court at length dismissed I pursued the matter until a lawful judgment was obtain'd, whereby the device formed for depriveing the king and his officers of their interest in the truth was defeated.

That by my letter to the lords of trade, of the 26th of Feb'ry 1742,[9] I gave their lordships an account of a large illicit trade carried on with Holland and other parts of Europe, mentioned the difficulties of suppressing this mischief, and made some proposals for that purpose — that by the seizure of several vessels made upon my intelligence, and under my direction, with the subsequent confiscations, and other methods, I checked in a considerable measure the trade with Holland — that pursuant to their lordships commands given me a little before my departure for Boston in Aug't 1749, after my arrival there, I prepared, and on the 24th of Oct'r transmitted to their lordships proposals for the better execution of the intent of the laws made to secure and regulate the plantation trade, and for the more effectual prevention of any European, Asiatic, or other commodities not shipt in Great Britain, as the laws require being imported into the plantations — that on the 9th of June 1755 I laid before their lordships observations on divers laws made in this century respecting the plantation trade, particularly setting forth the mistakes and defects therein contain'd — that the illicit trade stil continuing, and encreasing, especially with Holland, by my letters to Mr. West,[10] of the 25th of Jan'ry and 8th of Feb'ry 1759, I acquainted him with the matter, en-

[9] C. O. 5, 753. In Colonial Society *Publications*, VI. 399, is a text taken from a MS. copy in the Boston Public Library.

[10] James West (1704?–1772), joint Secretary of the Treasury (1741–1762).

closing two several accounts thereof received from other persons, in the latter adding my own observations, and taking notice that I was satisfied that the imports and exports made yearly in the course of this illicit trade amounted at least to a sum between 3 and 400000£.

That on the 19th of June 1745 I was appointed collector of his majestys customs at Salem and Marblehead in New England, and my commission was deliver'd to me some time after, on my arrival here to prosecute the public services abovementioned,[11] by which, with like services, I was prevented from taking the benefit of this commission, altho' it was given me with intent to be executed by deputy — that in the year 1759 this place was given by your Grace to another person, upon a supposition that I was dead — that my spirited prosecution, as kings advocate, of the illicit traders, in the opinion of intelligent persons, subjected me to great personal danger from vindictive sufferers, and the faithful but unpopular discharge of my duty having for several years much lessened an easy and profitable part of my private business, I was a considerable loser by the office of advocate when that of collector was given away; and how great a sufferer I have been in more valuable interests by my fidelity to the crown will appear in part from the inclosed state of facts, which I humbly apprehend is not unworthy of your Graces perusal, as it contains a particular account of a provincial attempt made to frustrate in a great measure the acts of trade.

My long continued labours, under your Graces directions, having contributed not a little to preserve Nova Scotia when in the greatest danger, and having at all times, to the best of my ability discharged my duty to the crown, I flatter myself that your Grace will in your goodness be pleased favourably to consider my faithful services, and my various losses, being, according to the most moderate computation, render'd several thousand pounds poorer than I shou'd have been if I had never engaged in the public service, besides being at last deprived of all profitable employment.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, Your Graces most devoted and most obedient servant

W. Bollan.

[11] Some light on appointments to the American customs service is given in my paper on "The Boston Customs District in 1768," in *Proceedings*, LVIII. 418.

MEMORANDUM.[12]

1761. In the beginning of this year several seizures having been made at Boston by Mr. Paxton an officer in the customs, warm contests respecting the propriety of the proceedings of this officer and of the court of admiralty arose, and a great number of merchants brought the matter before the gen'l assembly, who in effect order'd that a suit shou'd be commenced against Mr. Paxton by the treas'r of the province.

About this time application was made to the superiour court of judicature held at Boston for a warrant of assistance to the several officers of the customs to enter any house etc. where they shou'd suspect any contraband goods to be conceal'd. Divers such had been granted, but the legality of them was now questioned, and the court doubting thereof suspended their determination til the next term.

Mar. 5th. Mr. Hutchinson the chief justice wrote to Mr. Bollan, desiring to know whether such writs of assistance ever issue from the exchequer, except upon special information, and confined either to particular houses or to particular goods of which information is made.

June 13th. Mr. Bollan sent him a copy of the writ of assistance taken out of the court of exchequer, with a note thereon, setting forth the manner of its issuing. This writ is directed to the officers of the admiralty, justices of peace, mayors, sheriffs, constables, and all other his majestys officers, ministers, and subjects in England, requiring them to permit the commiss'rs of the customs and their officers by night or day to enter on board any vessel, to search etc., and in the day time to enter the vaults, cellars, ware-houses, shops, and other places, where any goods etc. lye concealed, or are suspected to lye concealed, for which the customs are not paid, to inspect and search for the s'd goods etc. and to do all things which according to the laws shou'd be done, and commanding them to be aiding and assisting to the said commiss'rs and their officers in the execution of the premises. On the copy sent this endorsment was made. N.B. These writs upon any application of the commiss'rs of the customs to the proper officer of the court of exchequer are made out of course by him, without any affidavit or order of the court.

This copy being received by the chief justice, and produced in court the writs of assistance moved for were by the court order'd to be issued.

[12] Add'l MSS. 32,974. fo. 368. Endorsed: Mr. Bollan's Memorandum.

1762 Feb'ry. On a trial at the superiour court the action brought in behalf of the province against Mr. Paxton was determined against the province. After this determination, and the issuing of the writs of assistance the house of representatives not only reduced the allowance to Mr. Hutchinson as chief justice, according to his letter to Mr. Bollan of this date.

Mar. 6th. In the same letter he writes thus: " to day they [the assembly] presented him [the gov'r] a bill restraining the superiour court from issuing writs of assistance [13] upon special information to a custom house officer, oath being first made, the informer mentioned, and the person supposed to own the goods, and the place where they are suspected to be concealed " — This day the session was concluded.

1762 April 19th 20th. The gen'l assembly having met again, by their vote dismiss'd Mr. Bollan from the agency for the province, without assigning any cause.

July 15th. A member of the gen'l assembly, of the best character, by letter giving Mr. Bollan a brief account how this dismission was effected, among other things, says that " together with a number of other fire-brands set the government into a flame, caused the salaries of the judges of the super'r court to be lessened, endeavoured to prevent their having a seat in either house; but failing they were determined to remove you, and for that end privately insinuated to the members of the house that you favour'd the officers of the customs, spent your time in solliciting their afairs in England, and neglected the affairs of the government."

Mr. Bollan, by his letter to the secretary and the speaker, complain'd of this kind of dismission, and used his utmost endeavours to obtain from the gen'l assembly the knowledge of their reasons for it, so that he might defend himself; but in vain.

1765 June 11th and 18th. The gen'l assembly, after having consider'd Mr. Bollans accounts and demands, express'd themselves as follows. " Resolved. That in consideration of his many and faithful services during his agency," etc.

[13] The word " except " should have been inserted here. See *Proceedings*, LVIII. 12; Mass Archives, 66. 191–3; and *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1761–2, 299.

WILLIAM PAINE TO ISAAC SMITH, JR.[1]

SALEM, April the 16th, 1769.

DEAR FRIEND, — Tis an Observation of Mr. *Shenstone* that it is always best to answer a Letter as soon as you have received it, which I should think you might Practice with the greatest ease as you have so much Leisure, a Thing which I am determined to come into. I am very sorry that you should think any Part of my Letter Flattery, as it is a Thing which I detest, for as Pope says

> Who dares think one Thing and another tell
> My Soul detests him as the Gates of Hell.

I am entirely of your Opinion with Regard to Theatrical Performances (viz.) that this Country in its present Circumstances cannot Support a Playhouse without manifest Disadvantage to the Community. But yet I think that the Stage affords the most rational Entertainment that I know of, and I look upon a well regulated Theatre to be of real Service, as it tends to promote Virtue and discourage Vice. What noble Sentiments have been delivered to us from the Stage? clothed in all the Beauties of Language, which must certainly impress a lasting Remembrance on the Mind of the Hearer. (But as you observe) I never should have Thought of Soldiers for *Actors*. Can it be supposed that a Person utterly unacquainted with The beauties of Language, can enter enough into the Spirit of a Performance, which abounds with all the Flowers of Rhetoric, as to set up for an Actor? certainly not. And I think they are a proper Subject for Ridicule for their attempting it. I've, since the Receipt of yours, had the reading of G[overno]r B[ernar]ds Letters, the Contents of which I believe are true, and related in as candid a Way as it could be expected, and with as few Exaggerations. And if we consider how extremely apt Mankind are to be prejudiced in Favour of their own Party, we shan't be surprised to find different Things are interpreted by one Party, directly contrary to that of the other. I can excuse every Thing I meet with in those Letters, except his attempting to alter the Constitution of the Province, which is a most unpardonable Thing, and for which every Person must detest him. But the best are liable to Errors. As to News, we have none here but what we receive at second Hand from Boston. It is thought by some that we shall have some of the red coated Gentry down here very soon, what they are

[1] From the gift of Dr. Charles Wendell Townsend. William Paine (1750-1833), a prominent physician of Worcester.

to do when they get here I can't conceive: for it is a very peaceable Town at present, but how long it will remain so after they come here is uncertain. As to myself I spend my Time very agreeably, having for an Instructor, as clever a Man as any I know of, and one who takes a great deal of Pleasure in answering any Question which I propose, and I think myself as well situated here in Regard to the Theory and Practice of Physic as I could have been at Boston. I am with the greatest Sincerity, yours, etc.

W. PAINE.

N. B. I think in the Postscript of your Letter you mention some Excuses relative to your writing, which I think are needless. If I thought my copying this Letter would tend to promote our Friendship, I would do it, but I can't see that it will, and as you know I am a very lazy Fellow, you will I hope excuse every Imperfection you meet with not only in this, but in the Letters which you re-receive from me.

SALEM, May the 21st, 1769.

MY FRIEND, — It is Sunday! And I am obliged to tarry at Home on Account of my Tooth-Ach. I have had this Day four different Attempts made to extract it, but which have all proved Ineffectual. So that what follows is the product of one of the most costive Brains that Man ever was plagued with, with this additional Disadvantage, that every Thought is made worse by the continual Pain which I Labour under from this Tooth. Some have gone so far as to say, Man is never afflicted with any Disaster, except it is to punish him for some Particular Vice which he, or they, have been guilty of. I have been considering my own State with Regard to the above, and find that I have not been so Virtuous as I might have been. But then what gives me no small Comfort is, that I am positive I never committed any premeditated Vice, but that all my male Conduct proceeds from that want of Thought and Inattention which it has and, I fear, always will be my Unhappiness to labour under. I am very sensible that the Person who commits a Crime without Thought is to blame. But yet I think them less to blame, than he who after having weighed every Circumstance that must attend upon his being guilty of a Vicious Action, And although he knows that he must e'er long be called to an Account for his bad Deeds, yet he resolves to do it, notwithstanding he knows the Consequence which must ensue. And for the same Reason I think Vice in an old Person is much worse than in a Young. Now whether my Tooth-ach proceeds from my being guilty of any particular Vice, I shall not pretend to say. I have

this Day been reading a Sermon of *Mr. Seeds*,[2] a Gentleman that appears to me to have a thorough Knowledge of Human Nature, the Discourse which I would particularly refer to at this Time is A Sermon that was delivered before the University of Oxford upon this Subject (viz) How far Affluence conduces to Happiness, which he has handled in a Masterly Manner, and whoever reads it must be convinced that to be happy he must be Virtuous. I fancy you have read it? or else I should certainly have quoted some of the most striking Passages. But this I can say, that I never heard or read a Sermon that was of so much Service to me as the above. Such Discourses are much better calculated for the real Service of Mankind than those dry studied Sermons upon Faith, etc., which never yet gained the Attention of half an Audience, and the rest are in a State which has been well described by the Pencil of the celebrated Hogarth in his Sleepy Congregation. Whereas the others, such as I have been mentioning, by the liveliness of the Expressions, etc., are an Antidote to Sleep.

I am much obliged to you for the two Pamphlets which accompanied your last. G[overno]r P[ownal]l Speech [3] I should have known by the Stile. I believe he has related Facts, as they really are. But then he has such a Prolix and such a peculiar Way of conveying his Ideas, that it renders his Writings disagreeable, and always puts me in Mind of a German Commentator. As to Church's Satire,[4] I would beg leave to observe, That the Man who sets out with a perfect Design of making a Person in Power appear contemptible in the Eyes of the People, without having any Regard to Truth, deserves instead of Thanks, the Curses of ev'ry Man of Sense. Whether this is not the Case with the Author you may judge. How Ungenerous! How cruel! to impute the Crimes which the Parent has been guilty of to his Children, as in the 23d Verse [5] of his Satire. Church is a good Poet, but as a Man I detest him as I do ev'ry Partizan. What Occasion is there for such inflammatory Pieces? I really Pity the Malevolence of the Heart that dictated it. But my Friend, Adieu, And believe me sincerely yours

W. PAINE.

[2] Jeremiah Seed (1700–1747).

[3] Delivered December 16, 1768. Four editions appeared in Boston in 1769.

[4] *An Address to a Provincial Bashaw* [Bernard], 1769.

[5] "Th' infectious Follies of a tainted Sire,
Entail Contagion on his wretched Race,
Nor all the Wealth that Rapine can acquire,
Shall screen his Offspring from deserv'd Disgrace."

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